

# Major Recent Additions to the Dumbarton Oaks Collection of Greek Manuscripts (DO MS 6 and DO MS 7) *Codicological and Paleographic Descriptions and Analyses*

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In 2016 and 2018, the Dumbarton Oaks Museum added two manuscripts to its increasingly comprehensive collection of Greek manuscripts: the early tenth-century Four Gospels and the ninth-century codex of forty-four homilies on the Gospel of Matthew by John Chrysostom. Ninth- and tenth-century Greek manuscripts are rarely offered for sale, and Dumbarton Oaks was fortunate to acquire both manuscripts, which were in private collections but have now become available to scholars. With these acquisitions, the Dumbarton Oaks collection of manuscripts encompasses the entire period of minuscule-manuscript production in Byzantium from the ninth to fifteenth centuries and exemplifies all major writing styles of this period. I was privileged to examine both manuscripts soon after their acquisition, and this article summarizes the results of my research. The article combines a cataloguing format with extensive paleographic and codicological analyses and complements my previous publications in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* on DO MSS 1, 3, 4, and 5.<sup>1</sup>

1 N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Greek Manuscripts at Dumbarton Oaks: Codicological and Paleographic Description and Analysis," *DOP* 50 (1996): 289–312, and N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, "A Newly Acquired Gospel Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks (DO MS 5): Codicological and Paleographic Description and Analysis," *DOP* 70 (2016): 293–324.

## DO MS 6 (the Benton Gospels)

The Four Gospels (Gregory-Aland 669; Diktyon 76481).<sup>2</sup> <Constantinople>, the first half of the tenth century.

### *Contents*

Fols. 1r–3v: The Gospel of Matthew, incomplete. Inc. mut: Ἰωσήφ ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτὸ . . . (Matthew 27:59). E. Nestle, E. Nestle, B. Aland, and K. Aland, eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th ed. (Stuttgart, 2006) (hereafter NTG), 1–87, at 85–87.

Fol. 3v: Subscription to the Gospel of Matthew: ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΝ.

2 Each Greek New Testament manuscript is assigned a Gregory-Aland number: K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1994). Also, each Greek manuscript is given a Diktyon number in *Pinakes*, a database of Greek manuscripts created by the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes in Paris. All manuscripts cited in this article are provided with a Diktyon number when a manuscript is first mentioned. The following abbreviations are used throughout: BAV = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; BnF = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France; BNM = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana; EBE = Athens, Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος (National Library of Greece); GIM = Moscow, Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei (State Historical Museum); ÖNB = Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek; and NLR = St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia.

Fols. 4r–5v: List of chapter titles for the Gospel of Mark (1–48). Title: Τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Μάρκον ἀγ(ίου) εὐα(γγελίου) τὰ κε(φάλαια). Inc.: α' Πε(ρὶ) τοῦ δαιμονιζομένου. H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, vol. 1, *Untersuchungen*, part 1, *Die Textzeugen* (Göttingen, 1911), 407–9.

Fol. 6r–v, *mutilated*: Only a narrow stub (25 mm at widest point) remains from a folio that was probably a full-page miniature of Mark.

Fols. 7r–70v: The Gospel of Mark. Title: ΕὐΑΓΓΕ-  
| ΛΙΟΝ | ΚΑΤΑ | ΜΑΡΚΟΝ. Inc.: Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγ-  
γελίου Ἰ(ησοῦ) υἱ Χ(ριστοῦ) υἱ Υ(ιοῦ) τοῦ Θ(εοῦ) ὡς  
γέγραπται . . . NTG, 88–149.

Fol. 70v: Subscription to the Gospel of Mark:  
Εὐαγγέλιον | κατὰ Μάρκον.

Fols. 71r–72v: List of chapter titles for the Gospel of Luke, incomplete (1–66 out of 83). Title: Τὰ κεφάλ(αια) τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Λουκ(ᾶν) ἀγ(ίου) εὐαγ-  
γελ(ίου). Inc.: α' Περί τῆς ἀπογραφῆς; des. mut.: ξς' Περί τοῦ πορευθέντος λαβεῖν ἑαυτῷ βασιλείαν. Von Soden, *Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 409–11, at 409–10.

Fols. 73r–172v: The Gospel of Luke; the beginning is missing. Inc. mut.: Μαριάμ καὶ τὸν Ἰωσήφ . . . (Luke 2:16). NTG, 150–246, at 157–246.

Fol. 172v: Subscription to the Gospel of Luke:  
Εὐαγγέλιον | κατὰ Λουκᾶν.

Fols. 173r–249v: The Gospel of John; the beginning is missing. Inc. mut.: <ἔθεα>]σάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ· (John 1:14). NTG, 247–319.

*Lacunae in John*: Lacuna of one folio between folios 178v and 179r: des. mut.: . . . λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν] (John 3:4); inc. mut.: ]ἀποληται ἀλλ' ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον (John 3:16). Two small lacunae on folio 220, which was torn and lost its bottom half: des. mut.: . . . καὶ ὅπου εἰ<μὶ ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ καὶ> ὁ διάκον[<ος> (John 12:26); inc. mut.: ]ἦλθεν οὖν φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ· (John 12:28); des. mut.: . . . ὑψω<θῶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς> πάντας ἑλκύσω <πρὸς ἑμαυτόν. Τοῦτο δὲ> ἔλεγε(ν). Ση[<μαίνων> (John 12:32–33); inc. mut.: ]υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου·

. . . (John 12:34).<sup>3</sup> Lacuna of one folio between fols. 223v and 224r: des. mut.: . . . ἔαν ποιῇτε αὐτά· (John 13:17); inc. mut.: ] λαβὼν οὖν τὸ ψωμίον . . . (John 13:30).

Fol. 249v: Subscription to the Gospel of John:  
Εὐαγγέλιον | κατὰ Ἰωάννην.

Fols. 250r–270r: Lectionary tables (Synaxarion). Title: Ἐκλογάδ(ιον) τῶν Δ' εὐα(γγελιστῶν)· διὰ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ τέλους· τὴν περικοπὴν ἐκάστου [sic] εὐα(γγελιστοῦ)· ἅμα δὲ τὴν τῶν κε(φαλαίων) παρασημείωσιν, ἀκριβῶς διαγορεύων· περιέχων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πάσχα· καὶ τελειοῦται τὸ Μηνολόγιον [sic].

Fols. 250r–252v: List of Gospel Readings from John, daily. Inc.: Τῇ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλῃ κυριακῇ τοῦ Πάσχα. Cf. C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1900), 344–47.

Fols. 253r–257v: List of Gospel Readings from Matthew, daily; the end is missing. Inc.: Τῇ β' τῆς α' ἐβδ(ομάδος); des. mut.: τῇ γ' τῆς ιγ' ἐβδ(ομάδος). Cf. Gregory, *Textkritik*, 347–51.

Fols. 258r–259r: List of Gospel Readings from Luke, daily; the beginning is missing. Inc. mut.: Τῇ β' τῆς ιζ' ἐβδ(ομάδος). Cf. Gregory, *Textkritik*, 347–51.

Fols. 259r–260r: List of Gospel Readings for the Vigils (Παννυχίδες), Lent (Νηστεία), and Holy Week (Ἡ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλη ἐβδομάς), Saturday and Sunday only. Inc.: Σα(ββάτῳ) α' τῶν νηστειῶν. Cf. Gregory, *Textkritik*, 361–62.

Fol. 260r–v: List of Gospel Readings for the Twelve Passions (Πάθη). Title: Εὐα(γγέλιον) τ(ῶν) ἀγ(ίων) Παθ(ῶν). Inc.: Εὐα(γγέλιον) α'. Cf. Gregory, *Textkritik*, 363.

Fol. 261r: Readings for Good Friday (for the Hours and the Liturgy) and Holy Saturday (Ἦραι). Cf. Gregory, *Textkritik*, 363.

3 After the words “υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου” the scribe missed a line with similar words and inserted it in the top margin in cursive: τ(ῆς) ἐστὶν οὗτο(ς) ὁ υἱὸς(ς) τοῦ ἀν(θρώπου)του.

Fols. 261r–268v: List of Gospel Readings for the Menologion. Title: Ἀρχὴ τοῦ Μηνολογίου. Inc.: Μηνὶ Σεπτεμ(βρίου) α'...

Fols. 268v–269v: List of eleven morning Gospel readings for the Resurrection (Ἑωθινά). Title: Ἀρχὴ τελεία τῶν ια' εὐαγγελίων ἑωθινῶν. Inc.: Εὐαγγέλιον ἑωθινὸν α'. . . Cf. Gregory, *Textkritik*, 364.

Fols. 269v–270r: List of Gospel Readings for various occasions. Inc.: Εἰς ἐγκαίνια ἐκκλησίας. . .

### Physical Description

The manuscript is written on parchment and contains 270 folios. The size of the manuscript is 170–172 × 130 mm. The non-scribal foliation is in the upper right corner in Greek numerals. The first six folios are not foliated; the first number appears on fol. 71 (ρζ' = 107); therefore, the first hundred folios are missing. One col.; the written surface is 110 × 73–75 mm. The text is written in 17 lines with interlinear space of 5–6 mm. The ruling was made on the hair side of the parchment with a sharp instrument. The text is positioned on the line.<sup>4</sup> The ruling system is 1. The ruling pattern is Leroy B 48D1d (Fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> This ruling pattern is not listed in Jacques-Hubert Sautel's *Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin*, and similar ruling patterns are found only in a small number of manuscripts.<sup>6</sup>

Thirty-three of forty-seven original quires remain; collation: <1–12>, 13<sup>8–7</sup> (fol. 1), 14<sup>8+1</sup> (fols. 2–10), 15–19<sup>8</sup>

4 On the significance of positioning of the minuscule script on or across the ruled lines for dating a manuscript, see M. L. Agati, *Il libro manoscritto: Introduzione alla codicologia*, *Studia archaeologica* 124 (Rome, 2003), 196, and N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, review of Agati, *Il libro manoscritto*, in *Chrysograph: Gatherings in Honor of G. Z. Bykova*, vol. 2, ed. E. Dobrynina (Moscow, 2005), 296–305, esp. 303f.

5 The three horizontal lines on the top margins are not always visible because of cropping. On ruling patterns and systems, see J. Leroy, *Les types de réglure des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1976); J. Leroy, "Quelques systèmes de réglure des manuscrits grecs," in *Studia codicologica*, ed. K. Treu et al., *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 124 (Berlin, 1977), 291–312; J.-H. Sautel, *Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin: Base de données établie par Jacques-Hubert Sautel à l'aide du fichier Leroy et des catalogues récents à l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes*, *Bibliologia* 13 (Turnhout, 1995).

6 See the frequency table of ruling patterns in Sautel, *Répertoire de réglures*, 345–51.

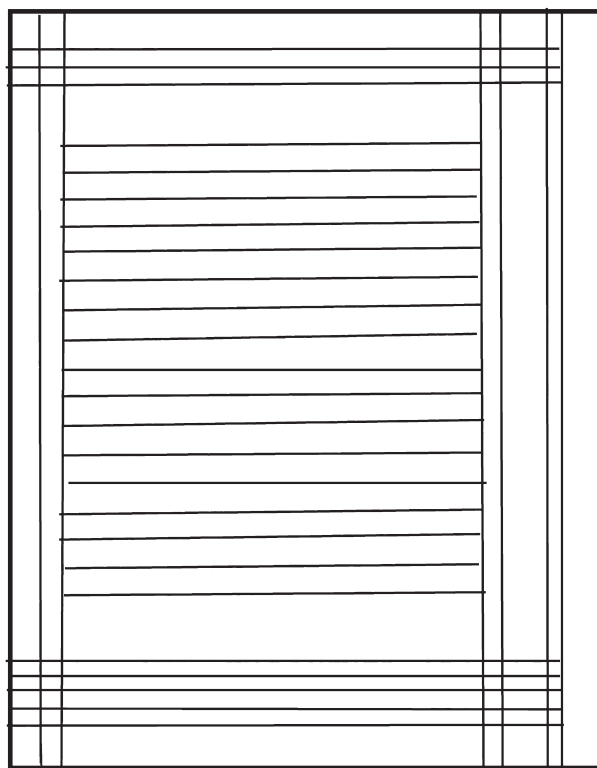


Fig. 1. Ruling pattern Leroy B 48D1d. Drawing by the author.

(fols. 11–50), 20–21<sup>10</sup> (fols. 51–70), 22<sup>2</sup> (fols. 71–72), <23>, 24–34<sup>8</sup> (fols. 73–160), 35–36<sup>6</sup> (fols. 161–72), <37>, 38<sup>8–2</sup> (fols. 173–78), 39–43<sup>8</sup> (fols. 179–218), 44<sup>8–1</sup> (fols. 219–25), 45–47<sup>8</sup> (fols. 226–49). The first twelve quires are missing; the thirteenth quire lacks the first seven folios; the fourteenth quire has an additional folio inserted in the middle of the quaternion (the inserted folio likely had a miniature of Mark the Evangelist; only a stub remains); the twenty-third quire is missing; the thirty-seventh quire is missing; the thirty-eighth quire lacks the first and eighth folios (the outer bifolium); and the forty-fourth quire lacks the sixth folio. Probably in the fifteenth century, three additional quires with lectionary tables were added to the manuscript, bringing the total number of quires to fifty; collation: 48–49<sup>8</sup> (fols. 250–65) and 50<sup>5</sup> (fols. 266–70). There are no original quire signatures, which were most likely cut off during rebinding when the manuscript was cropped. Non-scribal quire signatures were added by the person who foliated the manuscript. The signatures are in the lower-left corner of a quire; most of them are cropped.

The parchment is of good but not excellent quality. Its thickness varies from medium-thick to thick. The parchment was carefully prepared: it is smooth, and there are no imperfections such as scalloping, holes, or patches; dark hair follicles, which are typically found in lesser quality manuscripts, are absent. The flesh side is creamy-white, and the hair side is yellowish. The parchment is warped because the manuscript has been without a cover for a long time.

The parchment of the last three quires (fols. 250–70) with non-scribal lectionary tables is of inferior quality; it is thick and badly warped with a strong contrast between a yellowish-white flesh side and yellow-brownish hair side. Nonetheless, the parchment was well prepared, and hair follicles were carefully removed on most folios, although on some folios the wavy pattern of the follicles is visible. The pattern consists of double rows of smaller and larger follicles, which is typical of goat skin.

The ink of the main text is light brown. The ink of the non-scribal lists of chapter titles is magenta. The ink of the non-scribal lectionary tables is light brown with grayish tint.

Chapter titles (τίτλοι) were written by the scribe in Alexandrian majuscules in bright red ink (cinnabar) and placed in the top margins.<sup>7</sup> The numbers of the τίτλοι were repeated in the left margins at the beginning of a chapter. The Ammonian section numbers and Eusebian canon numbers were also executed by the scribe himself. These numbers are smaller than those of the τίτλοι. The Ammonian section numbers are written in the ink of the text and placed in the left margins at the beginning of each section. Under these numbers are the Eusebian canon numbers, written in bright red ink.

The lectionary apparatus was added by the scribe of the lectionary tables, probably in the fifteenth century. The apparatus was written in the margins in faded beige or bright red ink (the words ἀρχή and τέλος, which often are inserted in the text of the Gospels, were not used).

The manuscript has no colophon. A note in the top margin of fol. 250r (above the beginning of the lectionary tables), which was written by the same hand who copied the tables: ὦ Χ(ριστ)έ μου τάχυνον τὸ(ν) δὲ δρόμον τῆς χειρός μου (O Christ, speed the movement of my hand).

7 On Alexandrian majuscule, see J. Irigoin, “L’onziale grecque de type copte,” *JÖBG* 8 (1959): 29–51, and G. Cavallo, “Γράμματα Ἀλεξανδρίνα,” *JÖB* 24 (1975): 23–54.

## Binding

The manuscript is not bound and is kept in a box. The manuscript is sewn at four stations, and the sewing is exposed. The bottom end-band is missing; the top end-band consists of plain thread. The spine lining is missing, and only a small piece of blue cloth remains under the top end-band.

## Condition of the Manuscript

The condition of the manuscript is fragile due to the lack of covers. Sewing is falling apart in several quires in the beginning of the manuscript. Parchment folios are warped; there are wax stains and some soiling throughout the manuscript, and some folios have water stains in the outer margin. The first folio is loose and torn around the edges; the recto of the folio is soiled and darkened because of exposure, and the text is barely legible. The second folio is torn at the outer margin, but the text is not affected.

## Script

One scribe, anonymous, copied DO MS 6. His script is an elegant minuscule *bouletée élancée*, which is small, vertical, clear, and uniform (Fig. 2).

The writing style *bouletée élancée* is a subtype of the writing style minuscule *bouletée*, which was widely employed by Constantinopolitan calligraphers in the first half of the tenth century. Minuscule *bouletée* is an exceptionally beautiful example of Byzantine calligraphy. Minuscule *bouletée* uses more valuable parchment than other contemporaneous scripts, and manuscripts written in this writing style are therefore more expensive. Many manuscripts written in minuscule *bouletée* are beautifully illuminated. This script was predominantly employed in luxury manuscripts commissioned by wealthy clientele.

The minuscule *bouletée* was first identified by Viktor Gardthausen, who named it *Diamantschrift* (“Diamond script”).<sup>8</sup> Jean Irigoin examined several manuscripts written with this style and named it *écriture bouletée* because of distinctive tiny bulges or balls

8 V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie: Zweiter Band; Die Schrift, Unterschriften und Chronologie im Altertum und im byzantinischen Mittelalter*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1913), 210.

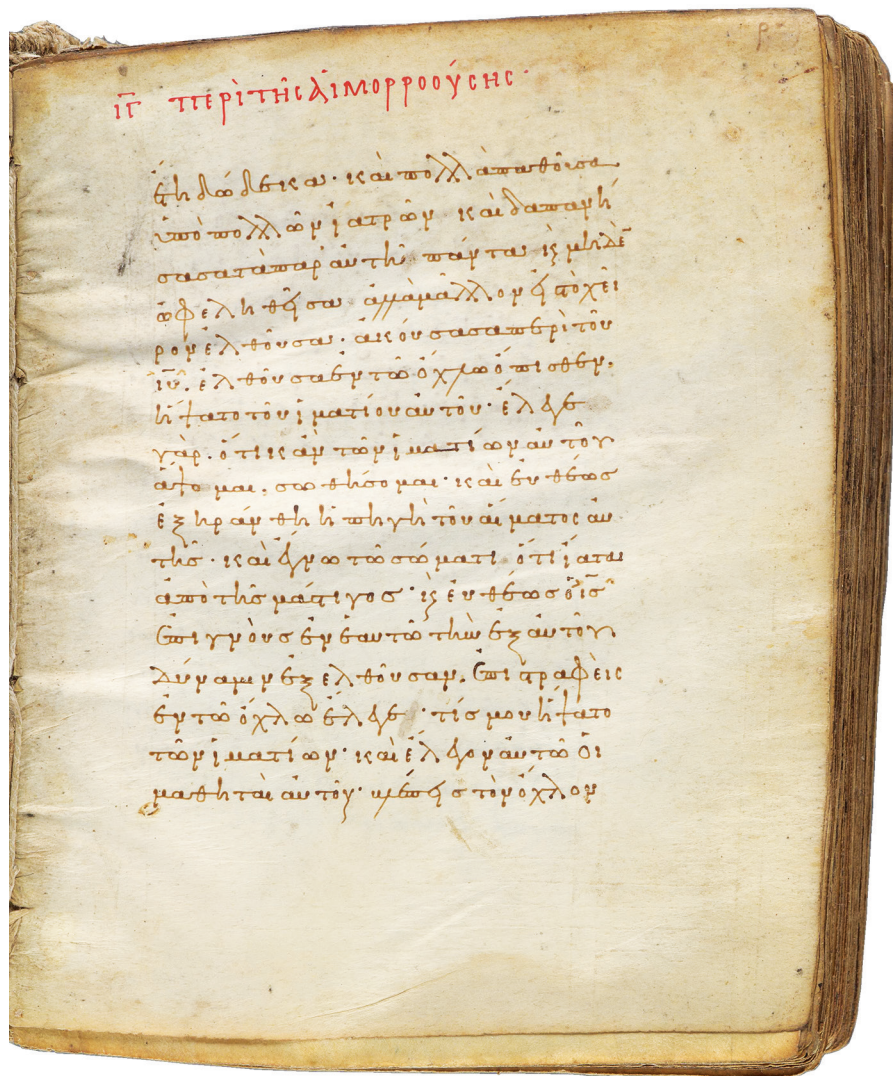


Fig. 2.  
DO MS 6, fol. 23r.  
Mark 5:25–31.

(*boules* in French) at the ends of many letters.<sup>9</sup> Irigoin also differentiated among four types of minuscule bouletée: early bouletée, canonic bouletée (or “true” bouletée), bouletée *italique* (bouletée with inclination to the right), and imitative bouletée (bouletée in decline). Irigoin also established chronological boundaries of minuscule bouletée, underscoring that minuscule

bouletée was primarily used in the first half of the tenth century.

Inspired by Irigoin’s article, I have identified a dozen bouletée manuscripts in Russian collections and published descriptions and analyses of these manuscripts.<sup>10</sup> The next major step in the study of minuscule bouletée was made by Maria Luisa Agati, who published a two-volume monograph with detailed descriptions and illustrations of more than a hundred manuscripts written in minuscule bouletée.<sup>11</sup>

9 J. Irigoin, “Une écriture du X<sup>e</sup> siècle: La minuscule bouletée,” in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine: Paris, 21–25 octobre 1974, Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique* 559 (Paris, 1977), 191–99. I am indebted to the late Professor Jean Irigoin for sending me an offprint of this article when it was not available in the Soviet Union and Soviet scholars were cut off from Western scholarship by the Iron Curtain.

10 N. F. Kavrus, “‘Almaznoe’ pis’mo v grecheskikh rukopisiakh Moskvyy i Leningrada,” *VizVrem* 47 (1986): 191–204.

11 M. L. Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 2 vols., *Littera antiqua* 9.1 (Vatican City, 1992).

In addition to the four types of minuscule bouletée denoted by Irigoin, Agati differentiated another type, bouletée with elongated strokes, which she called bouletée élançée.<sup>12</sup>

Only a few manuscripts written in minuscule bouletée are securely dated. The earliest dated manuscript written in minuscule bouletée is the well-known codex EBE, 2641 (Diktyon 4673), copied in 913/914 CE by the cleric Joseph for the patrician Samonas, a favorite of Emperor Leo VI.<sup>13</sup> The latest precisely dated manuscript written in “true” minuscule bouletée is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E. 2. 12 (Diktyon 47007), copied in 953 CE.<sup>14</sup>

The early minuscule bouletée retains some features of the ninth-century scripts, such as ancient elongated minuscule (*minuscola antica oblunga*), which is characterized by the angularity of the script and extended lower strokes of the letters zeta and xi, and minuscule *pre-bouletée*, which has many characteristics of minuscule bouletée but is almost pure with only occasional majuscule forms of letters.<sup>15</sup> The examples of manuscripts written in early minuscule bouletée include Tirana, National Archives of Tirana, Beratinus 2 (Diktyon 63361); NLR, gr. 53 / Granstrem 81 (Diktyon 57123); and New York, Morgan Library and Museum, MS M. 652 (Diktyon 46634).<sup>16</sup> These codices were

probably produced in the last quarter of the ninth century or in the beginning of the tenth.

The canonic minuscule bouletée is distinguished by relatively large, rounded letters that are vertical or have a slight inclination to the left. Most letters can be inscribed in a circle or square, and upper and lower strokes are significantly reduced and end with tiny bulges. The letters are widely spaced, creating the impression of airiness. The best examples of this style are BnF, gr. 70 (Diktyon 49631) and gr. 139 (Diktyon 49706).<sup>17</sup>

The minuscule bouletée élançée has many characteristics of the canonic bouletée, but in bouletée élançée, the letters are smaller, and the upper and lower strokes of many letters, especially zetas, phis, and xis, are elongated. Chronologically, bouletée élançée probably precedes canonic bouletée because it has many characteristics of earlier writing styles. For example, small size and bulges at the ends of the strokes resemble minuscule *pre-bouletée* of such manuscripts as BNM, gr. Z 538 (Diktyon 70009), copied in 904/905 CE, and GIM, Sinod. gr. 103/Vladimir 100 (Diktyon 43728), attributed to the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth.<sup>18</sup>

The minuscule of DO MS 6 has all the characteristics of bouletée élançée: it is small and vertical, most letters are rounded, and the upper and lower strokes of many letters are elongated, especially deltas, epsilons, etas, zetas, lambdas, xis, and phis (Fig. 3).

Small bulges at the end of strokes of many letters are frequent, especially at the end of strokes of majuscule lambdas. The bottom stroke of the letters zeta, phi, and xi ends with a small hook. After eta or upsilon,

12 Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 1:201–42.

13 See detailed paleographic analysis of EBE, 2641 in N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Lost and Found Folios of Codex Athens, National Library of Greece 2641: Philadelphia, Free Library, Fragment Lewis E 251,” *RSBN* 42 (2005): 93–104.

14 K. Lake and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, vol. 2 (Boston, 1934), vol. 2: pls. 98–99, MS no. 54, and L. T. Lefort and J. Cochez, *Palaeographisch album van gedagteekende griekse minuskelhandschriften uit de IXe en Xe eeuw* (Leuven, 1943), pl. 32.

15 On *minuscola antica oblunga*, see E. Follieri, “La minuscola libraria dei secoli IX e X,” in *Paléographie grecque et byzantine*, 139–65, esp. 144, repr. in E. Follieri, *Byzantina et italogreca: Studi di filologia e di paleografia*, ed. A. A. Longo, L. Perria, and A. Luzzi, Storia e letteratura 195 (Rome, 1997), 205–48. On minuscule *pre-bouletée*, see Follieri, “La minuscola libraria,” 145–46, and N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, “From Pre-Bouletée to Bouletée: Scribe Epiphanius and the Codices Mosq. Synod. gr. 103 and Vat. gr. 90,” in *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting; Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography (Madrid–Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008)*, 2 vols., ed. A. Bravo García and I. Pérez Martín, Bibliologia 31A, 31B (Turnhout, 2010), 31A:55–66, 31B:693–700.

16 On Beratinus 2 and NLR, gr. 53, see A. Džurova, *Manuscripts grecs enluminés des Archives Nationales de Tirana (VI<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles): Études*

*choisies*, Scriptorium Balcanicum 1 (Sofia, 2011), 1:23–41, 2: pls. 11–31, and N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Producing New Testament Manuscripts in Byzantium: Scribes, Scriptoria, and Patrons,” in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. D. Krueger and R. S. Nelson, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia (Washington, DC, 2016), 117–45, at 128–32, figs. 5.6–5.7. On MS M. 652, see N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America, Part IV.2: The Morgan Library and Museum,” *Manuscripta* 52:2 (2008): 207–324, esp. 212–30.

17 On the codices BnF, gr. 70 and 139, see Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 1:118–21, 2: pls. 3, 72, 73.

18 On the codex BNM, gr. Z 538, see Lefort and Cochez, *Palaeographisch album*, pl. 14. On the codex GIM, Sinod. gr. 103/Vladimir 100, see Kavrus, “‘Almaznoe’ pis’mo,” 192–94, pl. 1, and Kavrus-Hoffmann, “From Pre-Bouletée to Bouletée.”

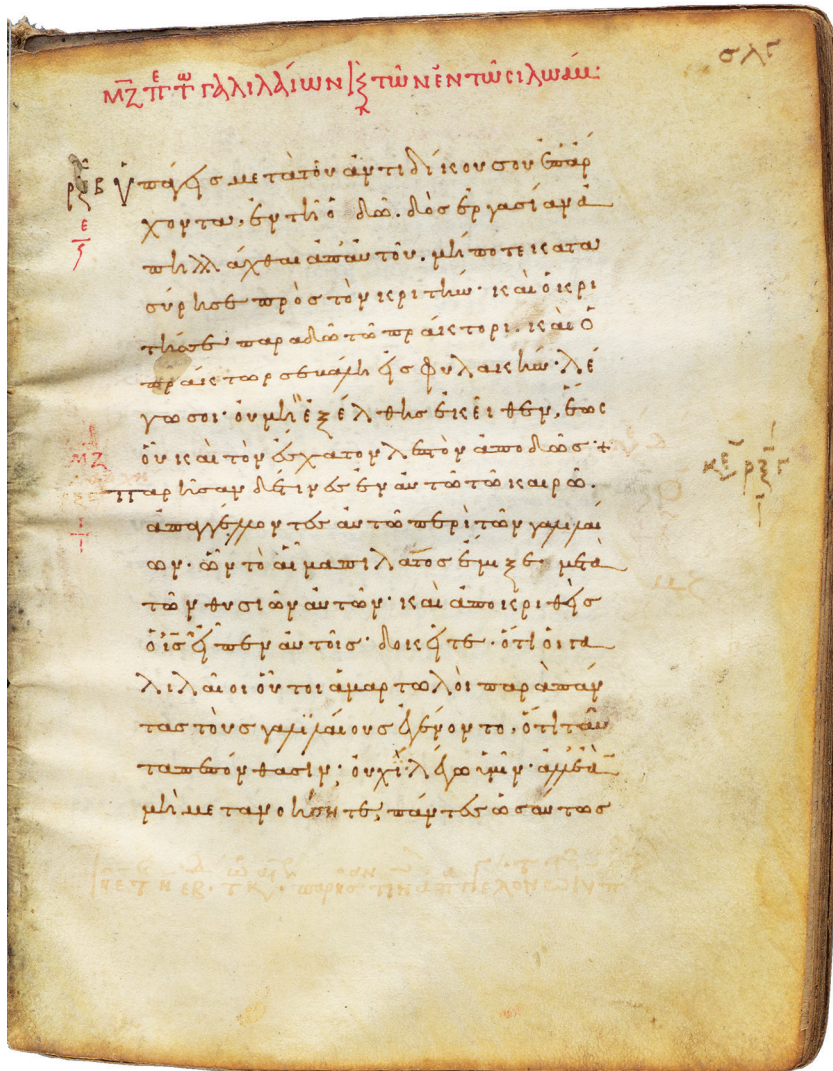


Fig. 3.  
DO MS 6, fol. 128r.  
Luke 13:29–34.

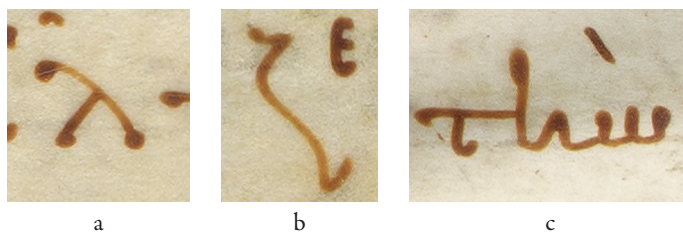


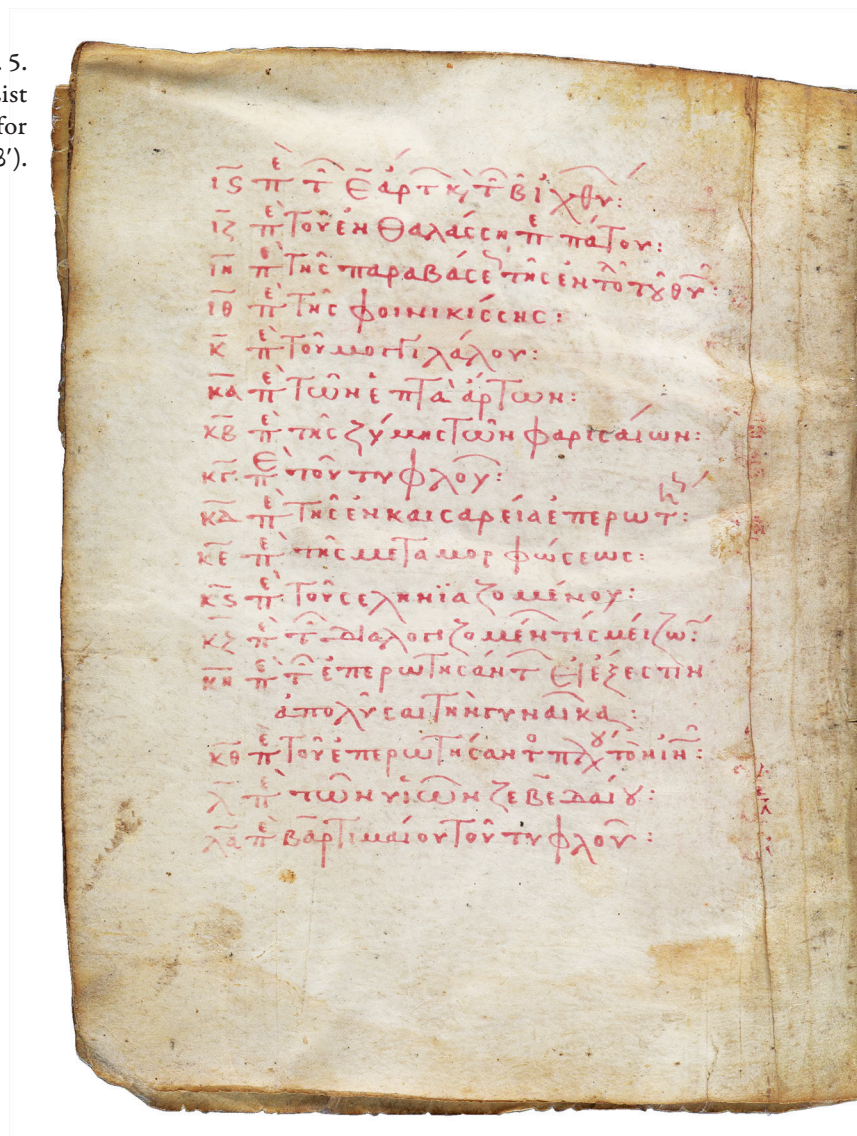
Fig. 4.  
DO MS 6. Distinctive letters:  
(a) lambda, fol. 15r; (b) zeta,  
fol. 9r; and (c) an ancient form  
of nu in τῆν, fol. 10r.

the scribe often uses an ancient form of nu, which resembles an open omega (Fig. 4). Many majuscule forms of letters are incorporated into the minuscule: gamma (rarely); delta (occasionally); narrow epsilon (frequently); kappa, which consists of two parts (frequently); lambda, either with a straight oblique stroke or a curved one (frequently); nu (occasionally; mostly

at the end of a line); and lunate sigma, which occasionally incorporates a following vowel. Diacritics are small; both smooth and rough breathing marks are angular. In general, the script of DO MS 6 is formal, controlled, and professional.

The chapter titles were written by the scribe in the top margins in large, elongated, and calligraphic

Fig. 5.  
DO MS 6, fol. 4v. List  
of chapter titles for  
Mark 16–32 (ις–λβ').



Alexandrian majuscules in bright red ink (Figs. 2–3). The same bright red ink was used in the subscription to the Gospel of Matthew (εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον). The subscription was written in large, distinguishing, epigraphic majuscules.<sup>19</sup>

The lists of chapter titles for Mark and Luke were probably inserted in the first half of the twelfth century (Fig. 5).<sup>20</sup> The lists were written by one hand in

Alexandrian majuscules in magenta ink (carmine). The twelfth-century paleographic features include enlarged letters, such as “beach-ball” theta, kappa, and lambda that descends below other letters, as well as enlarged circumflexes (Fig. 6).

The list of chapter titles for Mark was inserted inside the original fourteenth quire as the third and fourth folios, which were glued to the stubs left after the original folios were cut out. The list of chapter titles for Luke was written on a bifolium and inserted between the twenty-second and twenty-four quires.

19 On distinguishing, epigraphic majuscules, see H. Hunger, “Epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel: Beitrag zu einem bisher kaum beachteten Kapitel der griechischen Paläographie,” *JÖB* 26 (1977): 193–210.

20 The lists of chapter titles for Matthew and John are missing. In the brief auction description of the Benton Gospels, which was

provided by Sotheby’s, the lists of chapter titles for Mark and Luke are attributed to an eleventh-century hand.

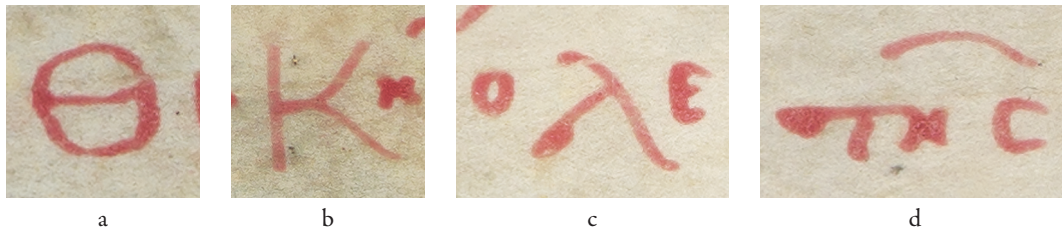


Fig. 6. DO MS 6, fol. 5r. Distinctive letters of the twelfth-century scribe: (a) “beach-ball” theta; (b) kappa; (c) descending lambda; and (d) enlarged circumflex.

The bifolium replaced the twenty-third quire that is now missing.

The scribe of the lectionary tables employed cursive script, which can be attributed to the fifteenth century.

#### *Dating, Origin, and Related Manuscripts*

The small minuscule script of DO MS 6 closely resembles scripts of the early tenth-century manuscripts written in early minuscule bouletée—for example, the script of Joseph in EBE, 2641, and the anonymous scribe I in GIM, Sinod. gr. 128/Vladimir 159 (Diktyon 43753).<sup>21</sup> But the exquisite, elongated strokes of many letters of DO MS 6’s scribe make the script look fluid and graceful, not static and somewhat rigid as that of the scribe Joseph. DO MS 6 belongs to a separate subgroup of

manuscripts written in early minuscule bouletée: bouletée élancée. DO MS 6 can be confidently attributed to the first half of the tenth century—the relatively short period of time during which minuscule bouletée was developed and flourished. The elegant writing style of the DO MS 6’s scribe is free of the artificial mannerism of mature canonic bouletée of such codices as BnF, gr. 70 and 139, and it can be very likely attributed to the first third of the tenth century. The position of the script on the ruled lines also supports the early tenth-century date for this manuscript.

The scribe of DO MS 6 was obviously a professional calligrapher. He displays a highly controlled and uniform script with only a few distinctive features, but they enabled me to identify his hand in several other manuscripts. For example, at the end of a line, the scribe often extends strokes of letters such as alpha, epsilon, eta, and kappa (in an abbreviated form of καί) into the outer margin with a slight curve upward, and in the last line of a page, the scribe sometimes extends the lower-oblique stroke of tachygraphic abbreviations for καί into the bottom margin in a vertical flourish, and he decorates the flourish with a short, wavy, horizontal or oblique line (Fig. 7).

A similar but shorter flourish is sometimes found in the middle of a page. These distinctive features are

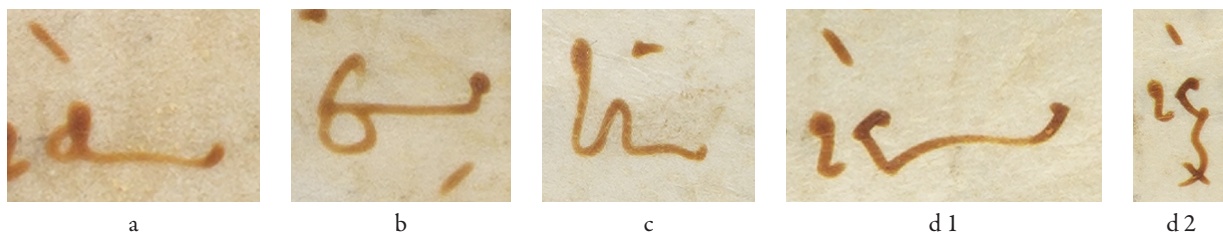


Fig. 7. DO MS 6. Distinctive letters: extended strokes of (a) alpha, fol. 14v; (b) epsilon, fol. 23r; and (c) eta, fol. 23r; and (d) abbreviated forms of καί, fols. 16r and 15v.

21 On EBE, 2641 and the scribe Joseph, see Lefort and Cochez, *Palaeographisch album*, pl. 19; Lake and Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, 1: pls. 58, 63; C. Paschou, “Le codex Atheniensis 2641 et le patrice Samonas,” *Byzantion* 69.2 (1999): 366–95, figs. 1–8; and Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Lost and Found Folios,” 93–104. On the codex GIM, Sinod. gr. 128/Vladimir 159, see Kavrus, “‘Almaznoe’ pis’mo,” 194–96, pls. 2–4, and E. N. Dobrynina, *Svodnyi katalog grecheskikh illiuminovannykh rukopisei v rossiiskikh khranilishchakh: Tom 1; Rukopisi IX–X vv.* (Corpus of Greek illuminated manuscripts in Russian collections, vol. 1, manuscripts of the 9th–10th century at the State Historical Museum, part 1) (Moscow, 2013), 106–19, no. 11a, pls. 81–112.

found in several manuscripts, which were likely copied by the same scribe as DO MS 6:<sup>22</sup>

- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1538 (Diktyon 9439). *Hippiatrica* (Fig. 8). The Berlin codex is attributed to the period of the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos as sole emperor (945–959).<sup>23</sup> The exceptional elegance and uniformness of the bouletée élançée of the Berlin codex signifies the acme of the career of this gifted scribe. Elina Dobrynina, a Russian art historian, noted that some features of the decoration and script of the Berlin codex look archaic and suggested that “the origin of his activities should be sought in the first quarter of the [tenth] century.”<sup>24</sup> The headpieces of the codex Berlin, Phill. 1538 display an artistic design different from that of DO MS 6, but some decorative details are similar, such as a small ciborium on top of the headpiece on fol. 2r (Fig. 9).
- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, gr. fol. 73 (Diktyon 9163). Gregory of Nazianzos, *Homilies*.<sup>25</sup>
- Mount Athos, Holy Community and Monastery of Stavronikita, 13 (Diktyon 30074), and NLR, gr. 336 / Granstrem 132 (Diktyon 57408). Patristic homilies (Fig. 10).<sup>26</sup>
- Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, 108 (Diktyon 18252). Gregory of Nazianzos, *Homilies*.<sup>27</sup>

- NLR, gr. 331 / Granstrem 176 (Diktyon 57403). Gregory of Nazianzos, *Homilies*, fragment (Fig. 11).<sup>28</sup>
- BAV, Barb. gr. 310, fols. 8r–111v (Diktyon 64853). Scribe I, anacreontic poems.<sup>29</sup>

These are other manuscripts closely related by script to DO MS 6:

- EBE, 413 (Diktyon 2709). Basil the Great, *Homilies*.<sup>30</sup>
- Kalavryta, Megalou Spelaiou Monastery, 1 (Diktyon 36434). Four Gospels. The Kalavryta manuscript is also related to DO MS 6 by decoration (see below, pp. 342–43).<sup>31</sup>
- GIM, Sinod. gr. 99/Vladimir 99 (Diktyon 43724). John Chrysostom, *Homilies*.<sup>32</sup>
- BnF, gr. 713 (Diktyon 50294) and Suppl. gr. 240, fols. 238r–241v (Diktyon 53004). John Chrysostom, *Homilies*. The hand is remarkably similar to that of DO MS 6’s scribe, but the form of the letter xi is different.<sup>33</sup>
- BnF, gr. 480 (Diktyon 50054). Basil the Great, *Homilies*. The manuscript is written by the same scribe as the abovementioned codex BnF, gr. 713.<sup>34</sup>

22 My identification of this scribe differs from that of Agati: Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 1:202–17. The Benton Gospels manuscript (DO MS 6) was not known to Agati.

23 L. Cohn, “Bemerkungen zu den Konstantinschen Sammelwerken,” *BZ* 9 (1900): 154–60; K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), 16–17, pl. XIX, fig. 104; and Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 1:212, 215.

24 E. N. Dobrynina, “Illuminated Manuscripts from the Family of the Hippiatrica Codex (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Philipps 1538),” *Scripta & e-Scripta* 14–15 (2015): 365–72, esp. 369, figs. 1–8.

25 D. Harlfinger, ed., *Kleine Handschriftenausstellung am Rande des II. Internationalen Kolloquiums Griechische Paläographie und Kodikologie* (Berlin und Wolfenbüttel, 17.–21. Oktober, 1983) (Wiesbaden, 1983), and Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 1:214, 2: pl. 145.

26 Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 19, pl. XXIII, figs. 125–26; Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 1:214, pl. 144; and Kavrus, “Almaznoe’ pis’mo,” 198–99, pls. 9–10.

27 Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 1:202, 2: pl. 138.

28 Kavrus, “Almaznoe’ pis’mo,” 198, pls. 7–8, and Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 1:215. The fragment is from the collection of Porfirii Uspenskii, who left a note that the folios were taken from the manuscript in the “lower library of the Lavra of St. Sabas.” Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus identified the parent manuscript as Jerusalem, Library of the Greek Patriarchate, Hagiou Saba, 233 (Diktyon 34489). This identification is recorded in abovementioned publications and in *Pinakes*. The microfilm of Hagiou Saba, 233 is digitized and available on the Library of Congress website. After close examination of the digitized Jerusalem manuscript, I concluded that the St. Petersburg fragment did not originate from the Hagiou Saba, 233.

29 Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 1:202, 2: pl. 139.

30 Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 1:217–18, pl. 146, and A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and C. Toufexi-Paschou, *Κατάλογος μικρογραφιών βυζαντινών χειρογράφων της Εθνικής Βιβλιοθήκης της Ελλάδος, Γ’, Όμιλίες πατέρων της εκκλησίας και μνηολόγια 9ου–12ου αιώνα* (Athens, 1997), 70–73, no. 6, pls. 84–92.

31 Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 1:202–3, 2: pl. 140.

32 Kavrus, “Almaznoe’ pis’mo,” 200–201, pls. 11–12, and Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 1:203–4.

33 Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 1:204–5, pls. 8, 142, 143.

34 Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, 1:204, pl. 7.

Fig. 8. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1538, fol. 80r. *Hippiatrica*.Fig. 9. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1538, fol. 2r, upper part. *Hippiatrica*.

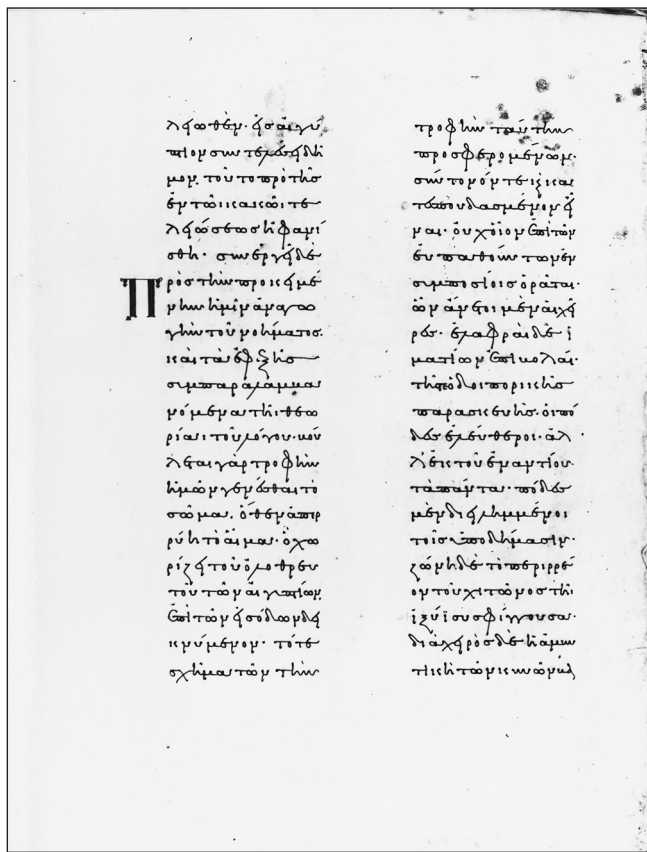


Fig. 10. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 336/Granstrem 132, fol. 2v. Gregory of Nyssa, fragment.

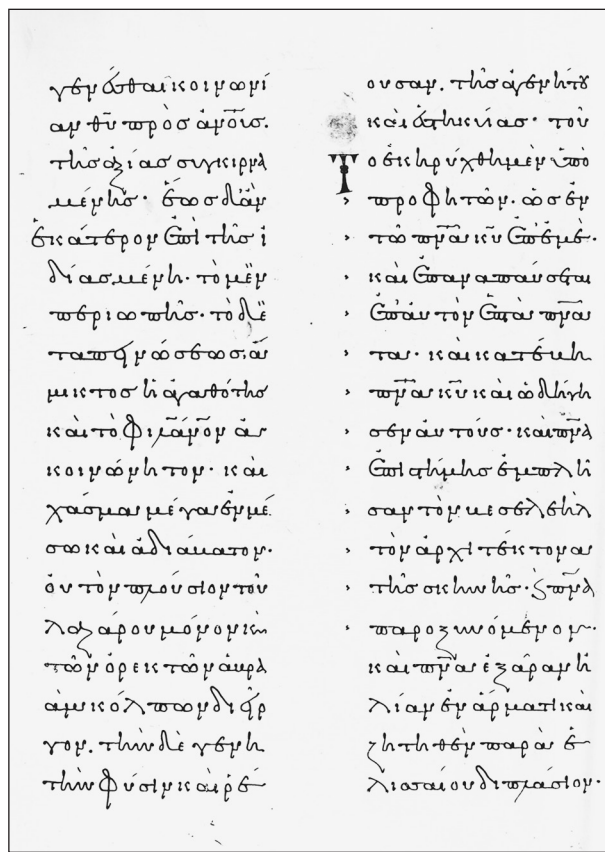


Fig. 11. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 331/Granstrem 176, fol. 2v. Gregory of Nazianzos, *Homilies*, fragment.

- BnF, Coisl. 46 (Diktyon 49188). Basil the Great, *Homilies*.<sup>35</sup>
- Patmos, St. John the Theologian Monastery, 43 (Diktyon 54287). Gregory of Nazianzos, *Homilies*. The hand is very similar to that of DO MS 6's scribe.<sup>36</sup>
- Patmos, St. John the Theologian Monastery, 44 (Diktyon 54288). Gregory of Nazianzos, *Homilies*. The same scribe executed the abovementioned Patmos, St. John the Theologian Monastery, 43.<sup>37</sup>
- Patmos, St. John the Theologian Monastery, 272 (Diktyon 54516). Patristic homilies. The manuscript's bouletée élançée is very similar to that of DO MS 6. It is possible the Patmos, St. John the Theologian

Monastery, 272 was copied by the same scribe as DO MS 6, but without access to the entire manuscript, I cannot make a definite identification.<sup>38</sup>

- BNM, gr. Z 360 (Diktyon 69831). Menologion. The script is very similar to that of DO MS 6's scribe. It is possible this codex was copied by the same scribe as DO MS 6, but without access to the entire manuscript, I cannot make a definite identification.<sup>39</sup>

### Decoration

Most of the decoration of DO MS 6 is missing. There is one headpiece to the Gospel of Mark and a decorated initial alpha on fol. 7r (Fig. 12). The headpiece is in the shape of a ciborium. The title of the Gospel is written

35 Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée"*, 1:218–19, pl. 11.

36 Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée"*, 1:205, pl. 9.

37 Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée"*, 1:205, pl. 10.

38 Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée"*, 1:232, pl. 153.

39 Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée"*, 1:219, pl. 12.

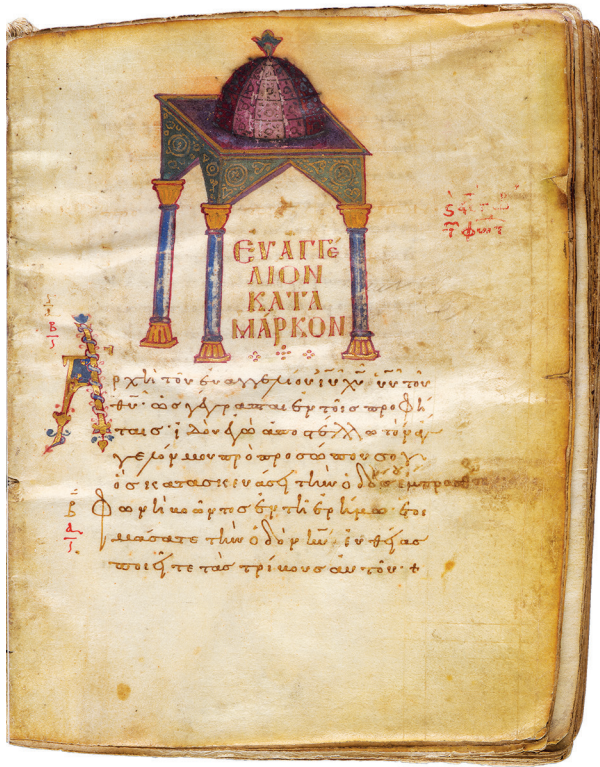


Fig. 12.  
DO MS 6, fol. 7r.  
Headpiece and  
initial alpha.



Fig. 14. DO MS 6, fol. 7r. Initial alpha.



Fig. 13. DO MS 6, fol. 7r, upper part. Headpiece in the shape of a ciborium.

in hollow-bar style: the letters are outlined with red ink and filled with gold ink.

The ciborium consists of a domed canopy supported by three Corinthian columns (Fig. 13). The round bodies of the columns are painted blue and have gold tops and bases. The sides of the canopy are shaped as triangle arches. They are painted dark green and decorated with small, gold patterns, which are concentric circles, single circles, and hearts or heart-shaped leaves. The flat surface of the canopy and the dome are painted purple. The ribbed sides of the dome are decorated with small, gold circles. On the top of the dome is a stylized flower, which is outlined with red ink and filled with dark green and blue pigments and some gold.

The initial alpha is exquisitely executed in hollow-bar style: the letter is outlined with red ink and filled with gold (Fig. 14). The right stroke is oblique (inclined

to the left) and elongated, and a small, stylized flower painted in blue is on top. This flower looks like a diminutive copy of the flower that rests on top of the ciborium's dome. The right stroke is also decorated with a narrow, double line, which is winding and vine-like, and was painted with blue pigment, now partially flaked. A similar winding, vine-like, narrow, double line, which is outlined with red ink and filled with gold, can be found in the decoration of the canon tables in the codex Messina, Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria, F. V. 18, a.k.a. the Dionysios Gospels (Diktyon 40648).<sup>40</sup> The Dionysios Gospels are attributed by Antonio Iacobini and Lidia Perria to the end of the ninth century or beginning of the tenth.

The left stroke consists of a short, horizontal bar and a vertical bar that has a slight inclination to the right. A second horizontal bar forms the letter alpha, and the enclosed space is filled with blue pigment. The blue pigment in the enclosed space was applied sloppily and was probably added later to replace the flaked original blue pigment. The lower ends of the strokes are decorated with small, heart-shaped buds and tendrils in gold and blue. A similar decorative motif is found in the codex Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, 108, which was likely penned by the same scribe who copied DO MS 6.<sup>41</sup>

On fol. 173r, where the Gospel of John begins, there is an offset of a lost headpiece (Fig. 15). The pigment of the headpiece penetrated the folio and imprinted a faint but perceptible image of the headpiece. This headpiece is also in the shape of a ciborium but has a configuration that is different from the headpiece to the Gospel of Mark on fol. 7r: the offset looks like a double arch that rests on four short columns. On the top of the ciborium is a small flower similar to that on fol. 7r. As is common in Byzantine manuscripts, the headpieces differ from each other in details and even in shape or design but adhere to the same artistic scheme. For example, the codex BnF, gr. 70 (the Four Gospels) has four headpieces, all of which are in the shape of ciboria, but each ciborium has a different design.<sup>42</sup>

The ciborium motif in headpieces is relatively rare. It can be found in a handful of manuscripts produced

in the first half of the tenth century—for example, BnF, gr. 70; Kalavryta, Megalou Spelaiou Monastery, 1; BNM, gr. I 8 (Diktyon 70104); and Mount Athos, Holy Community and Monastery of Stavronikita, 13. One of the earliest manuscripts with a ciborium headpiece is the codex NLR, gr. 53 / Granstrem 81. This Gospel manuscript was probably produced in the last quarter of the ninth century. It was written entirely in gold on purple parchment with marginal commentaries written in silver ink. The manuscript features early minuscule bouletée, and one of the headpieces is in the shape of a ciborium.<sup>43</sup>

Two other manuscripts were decorated with early-style ciboria: EBE, 211 (Diktyon 2507) and London, British Library, Harley 5540 (Diktyon 39505). The EBE, 211 is written in the ancient elongated minuscule (minuscule antica oblunga) and can be attributed to the end of the ninth century.<sup>44</sup> The Harley manuscript was written in early minuscule bouletée, and the headpiece to the Gospel of Matthew on fol. 4r was probably a rough copy of the ciborium headpiece in NLR, gr. 53.<sup>45</sup>

The following is a list of manuscripts related to DO MS 6 by decoration:

- Kalavryta, Megalou Spelaiou Monastery, 1. Four Gospels. Lists of chapter titles are decorated with ciborium headpieces.<sup>46</sup> The gospel headpieces' decoration is similar to that in BnF, gr. 70.<sup>47</sup> The

43 E. E. Granstrem, "Katalog grecheskikh rukopisei leningradskikh khranilishch: Vypusk 1; Rukopisi IV–IX vekov," *VizVrem* 16 (1959): 236–37; V. D. Likhachova, *Vizantiiskaia miniatiura: Pamiatniki vizantiiskoi miniatiury IX–XV vekov v sobraniakh Sovetskogo Soiuzna/ Byzantine Miniature: Masterpieces of Byzantine Miniature of IXth–XVth Centuries in Soviet Collections* (Moscow, 1977), 13–14, pl. 3; *Katalog grecheskikh rukopisei Rossiiskoi Nazional'noi Biblioteki*, ed. I. N. Lebedeva (St. Petersburg, 2014), 77, no. 79, pl. 4; and Džurova, *Manuscrits grecs enluminés*, 1:25–41, 2: pl. 25. Additional bibliographic references for NLR, gr. 53 can be found in <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>.

44 On the EBE, 211, see Marava-Charzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou, *Katálogos*, 24, no. 2, pls. 33, 35. The manuscript is fully digitized, and the headpieces in the shape of ciboria are on fols. 226r and 264r.

45 The Harley 5540 is fully digitized, and the headpiece in the shape of a ciborium is on fol. 4r.

46 Limited access to the digitized microfilm of the Kalavryta manuscript is available on the website of the Institute for New Testament Textual Research at the University of Münster (<https://ntvnr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace?docID=32224>).

47 Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pl. XVII, figs. 89–91, and Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée"*, 1:202–3, 2: pl. 140.

40 A. Iacobini and L. Perria, *Il Vangelo di Dionisio: Un manoscritto bizantino da Costantinopoli a Messina*, Milion: Studi e ricerche d'arte bizantina 4 (Rome, 1998), pls. IX, XVIII.

41 Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée"*, 2: pl. 138 (initial tau).

42 Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, figs. 79–82.

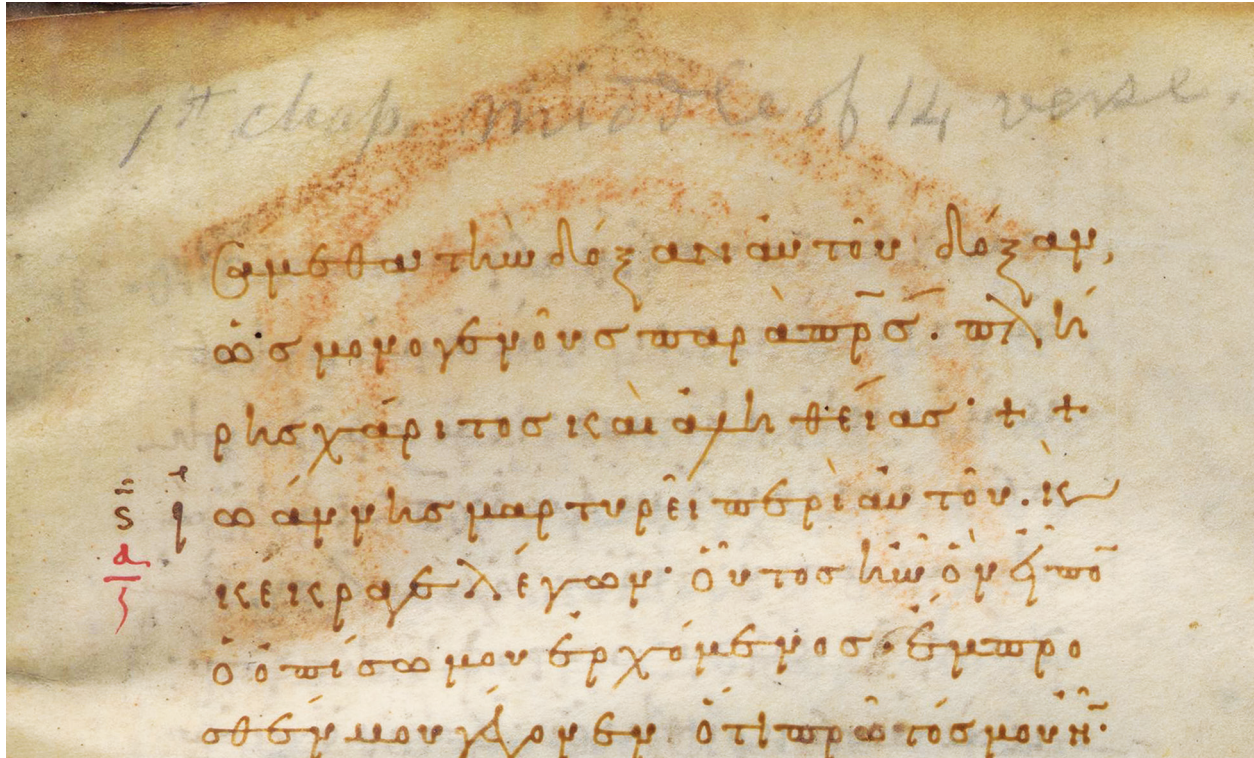


Fig. 15. DO MS 6, fol. 173r, upper part. Offset of the lost headpiece to the Gospel of John.

Kalavryta manuscript is also related to DO MS 6 by script.

- Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, 34 (Diktyon 20002) and NLR, gr. 286 / Granstrem 149 (Diktyon 57358). Four Gospels. The ciborium headpieces are very similar to that in DO MS 6 and to those in Megalou Spelaiou Monastery, 1, and BnF, gr. 70 (Fig. 16a).<sup>48</sup>
- Mount Athos, Iveron Monastery, 27 (Diktyon 23624). Gregory of Nazianzos, *Homilies*. The ciborium headpieces are similar to that in DO MS 6 (Fig. 16b).<sup>49</sup>
- BnF, gr. 70. Four Gospels. The manuscript is written in beautiful canonic bouletée. The ciborium headpieces are very similar to that in DO MS 6 and

to those in Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, 34 (Fig. 16c).<sup>50</sup>

- Mount Athos, Holy Community and Monastery of Stavronikita, 13 and NLR, gr. 336 / Granstrem 132. Patristic homilies. Ciborium headpieces are very similar to that in DO MS 6 and to those in BNM, gr. I 8 (Fig. 16d).
- BNM, gr. I 8. Four Gospels. The ciborium headpieces are very similar to that in DO MS 6 and to those in Mount Athos, Holy Community and Monastery of Stavronikita, 13 (Fig. 16e).<sup>51</sup>

The ciboria in all abovementioned manuscripts are almost identical or so similar that it is reasonable to assume that the same artist decorated these codices.

<sup>48</sup> Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pl. XXXIII, figs. 183–91.

<sup>49</sup> Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pl. XVIII, figs. 99–101, esp. fig. 99, and G. Galavaris, *Holy Monastery of Iveron: The Illuminated Manuscripts* (Mount Athos, 2002), 21–24, figs. 9–12.

<sup>50</sup> Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pl. XV, figs. 78–82, and Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée"*, 1:118–19, pls. 3, 72.

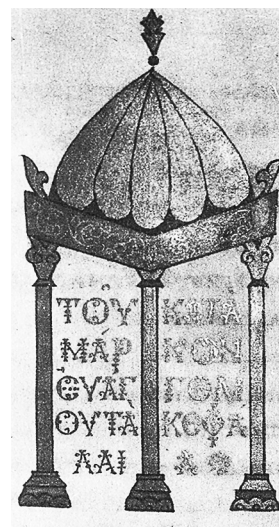
<sup>51</sup> Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pl. XVII, figs. 92–93.

Fig. 16a–e.

Headpieces in the shape of ciboria in manuscripts related to DO MS 6: (a) Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, 34, fols. 9r, 116r, and 183r, and St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 286/Granstrem 149, fol. 1r, after Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pl. XXXIII:187–90; (b) Mount Athos, Iveron Monastery, 27, fol. 88r, after Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pl. XVIII:99; (c) BnF, gr. 70, fols. 9r, 110r, 180v, and 305r, after Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pl. XV:79–82; (d) Mount Athos, Holy Community and Monastery of Stavronikita, 13, fols. 1r and 2r, courtesy Athos Digital Heritage; and (e) BNM, gr. I 8, fols. 13r and 3r, after Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pl. XVII:92–93.



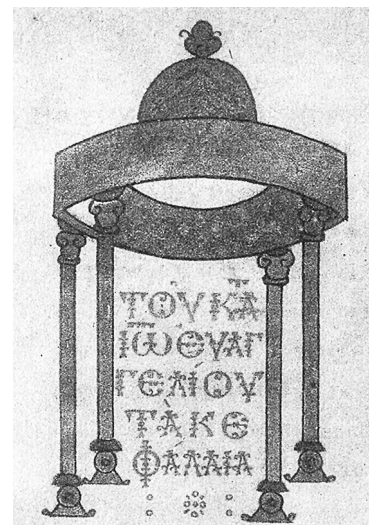
a 1



a 2



a 3



a 4



b



c1



c2



c3



d1



d2



e1



e2

### Provenance

DO MS 6 is one of the first biblical manuscripts brought to the United States. It was acquired by the Episcopal missionary Rev. George Benton (1808–1862) in Chania, Crete, and brought by him to the United States in 1844. In 1862 the manuscript was inherited by Benton's son, Angelo Ames Benton (1836–1912), and subsequently by grandchildren William Lane Hall Benton and Elizabeth Ames Benton, who in 1913 donated the manuscript to the General Theological Seminary in New York, NY. The manuscript became known as the Benton Gospels. At the seminary's sale (Christie's, 1 October 1980, lot 137) the manuscript was bought by an American Bible scholar, Dr. Charles Caldwell Ryrie (1925–2016), for his private collection. At his sale (Sotheby's, 5 December 2016), the manuscript was acquired by the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

### Bibliography

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### Concluding Remarks

The end of the ninth century to the first half of the tenth was a period of relative prosperity in Byzantium, the so-called Macedonian Renaissance, and many people of means—clergy, courtiers, administrative

bureaucrats, and military officers—wanted to have a personal Bible and created a demand for small-sized Gospel books. At the same time, the manuscripts became more affordable because of the spread of the minuscule script, which enabled a scribe to make a manuscript smaller and therefore produce it faster. DO MS 6 is one of many diminutive Gospel books produced during the Macedonian Renaissance, but a particularly elegant script and ciborium decoration make this manuscript stand out of the crowd. DO MS 6 was probably produced in a Constantinopolitan ergasterion where several scribes and artists created deluxe manuscripts to cater to the changing tastes of their demanding clientele.<sup>52</sup>

DO MS 6 belongs to a small number of Greek manuscripts written in an exceptionally beautiful minuscule script: bouletée élancée. Only about thirty manuscripts written in this script are known to have survived, and they are dispersed throughout the world. This writing style was employed only for a short period, probably in the first third of the tenth century and most likely in Constantinople. To the best of my knowledge, there are no other manuscripts written in bouletée élancée in the libraries of the United States.

DO MS 6 has lost most of its decoration but retains a headpiece in the shape of a ciborium, which is an important example of early Byzantine manuscript illumination. Only a handful of Byzantine manuscripts with this kind of decoration are known; all of them are deluxe manuscripts probably produced in the same Constantinopolitan ergasterion. The ciborium-shaped headpieces were in fashion for a short time during the end of the ninth and the first half of the tenth centuries, and this fashion abruptly disappeared after that period. Although ciboria continue to appear in manuscript illumination, they are mostly found in miniatures as architectural decorations, not as headpieces.<sup>53</sup>

52 On this hypothetical ergasterion, see Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Producing New Testament Manuscripts in Byzantium,” 130–39.

53 For example, ciboria are featured in several miniatures in BAV, Vat. gr. 1613, a.k.a. the Menologion of Basil II, created between 976 and 1025 (see the digitized manuscript on the Vatican Library website, esp. pages 14, 61, and 324).

## DO MS 7 (Diktyon 8916)

John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew*, 1–44 (CPG 4424). <Constantinople>, the first half or the middle of the ninth century (fols. 2r–272v); <Constantinople>, the last quarter of the thirteenth century or the first quarter of the fourteenth (replacement fols. 1r–v and 273r–274v).

## Contents

The Greek text and diacritics are presented in diplomatic transcription except for iota subscriptum, which was not used by the scribe but added here. There are almost no iotacisms in the text, but diacritics are often missing and sometimes erroneous.<sup>54</sup>

Fol. 1r–v (replacement folio): Homily 1. Title: 'Ομιλία Α'. Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Ἰω(άννου) ἀρχ(ι)επισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπό(λεως) τοῦ Χρυσοστόμ(ου)· ἐρμινεῖα εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον· ὑπόμνημα ἥτοι προοίμιον. Inc.: "Ἐδει μὲν ἡμᾶς μὴδε δεῖσθαι τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων βοηθείας· . . .; des.: . . . μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν[. PG 57:13–15, line 30.

Fols. 2r–8v (original ninth-century folios): Inc.: ] βασιλικὸν ἀνενεχθείσης· . . . PG 57:15–24, line 30.

Fols. 8v–15r: Homily 2. Title: 'Ομιλία Β'. Κεφ(άλαιον) α'. Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) υ(ιοῦ) Δα(υῖ)δ υ(ιοῦ) Ἀββραάμ. Inc.: Ἄρα μέμνησθε τῆς παραγγελίας· . . . PG 57:23–32.

Fols. 15r–21r: Homily 3. Title: 'Ομιλία Γ'. Κεφ(άλαιον) α'. Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) υ(ιοῦ) Δα(υῖ)δ υ(ιοῦ) Ἀββραάμ. Inc.: Ἰδοὺ τρίτη διάλεξις. PG 57:31–40.

Fols. 21r–33r: Homily 4. Title: 'Ομιλία Δ'. Κεφ(άλαιον) β'. Πᾶσαι οὖν αἱ γενεαὶ ἀπὸ Ἀββραάμ· ἕως Δα(υῖ)δ· γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες· κ(αὶ) ἀπὸ Δα(υῖ)δ· ἕως τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες· κ(αὶ) ἀπὸ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος ἕως τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες. Inc.: Εἰς τρεῖς διεῖλεν μερίδας τὰς γενεὰς ἀπάσας· . . . PG 57:39–54.

Fols. 33r–38r: Homily 5. Title: 'Ομιλία Ε'. Κεφ(άλαιον) Δ'. Τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κ(υρίου) υ(ιοῦ) τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· ἰδοὺ ἡ Παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει· κ(αὶ) τέξεται υἱόν· κ(αὶ) καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἑμμανουήλ. Inc.: Πολλῶν ἀκούω λεγόντων· ὅτι παρόντες μὲν· . . . PG 57:55–62.

Fols. 38r–46r: Homily 6. Title: 'Ομιλία Σ'. Τίτλο(ς) Α'. Κεφ(άλαιον) Δ'. Τοῦδε Ἰ(ησοῦ) γέννηθέντος ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἰδοὺ μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα λέγοντες· Ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων· εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ κ(αὶ) ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ. Inc.: Πολλῆς ἡμῖν δεῖ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας· πολλῶν τῶν εὐχῶν· . . . PG 57:61–72.

Fols. 46v–53r: Homily 7. Title: <'Ομιλία Ζ'. Κεφ(άλαιον) Δ'. Καὶ συναγαγὼν πάντας τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς κ(αὶ) γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ· ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' αὐτῶν ποῦ ὁ Χ(ριστὸς) γεννᾶται· οἱ δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ· ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τ(ῆς) Ἰουδαί(ας). Inc.: Εἶδες ἅπαντα εἰς ἐλεγχον γινόμενα Ἰουδαϊκόν· . . . PG 57:73–82.

Fols. 53v–58v: Homily 8. Title: 'Ομιλία Η'. Τίτλο(ς) Α'. Κεφ(άλαιον) Σ'. Καὶ εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν· εἶδον τὸ παιδίον μετὰ Μαρίας τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ. Inc.: Πῶς οὖν ὁ Λουκᾶς φησὶν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς φάτνης κείμενον ἦν· . . . PG 57:81–90.

Fols. 58v–65r: Homily 9. Title: <'Ομιλία Θ'. Τότε Ἡρώδης ἰδὼν ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων ἐθυμώθη λίαν·. Inc.: Καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἐχρῆν θυμωθῆναι ἀλλὰ φοβηθῆναι· . . . PG 57:89–184.

Fols. 65r–71v: Homily 10. Title: 'Ομιλία Ι'. Τίτλο(ς) Γ'. Κεφ(άλαιον) Ζ'. Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις παραγίνεται Ἰωάννης ὁ Βαπτιστῆς κηρύσσων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας κ(αὶ) λέγων μετανοεῖται ἕγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. Inc.: Ποίαις ἡμέραις ἐκείναις· οὐδε γὰρ τότε ἦν ἡμεῖς παῖς ἦν· . . . PG 57:183–92.

Fols. 71v–80r: Homily 11. Title: 'Ομιλία ΙΑ'. Τίτλο(ς) Γ'. Κεφ(άλαιον) ι'. Ἰδὼν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν Φαρισαίων κ(αὶ) Σαδδουκαίων ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς. Inc.: Πῶς οὖν φησὶν ὁ Χ(ριστὸς) ὅτι οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν Ἰωάννη· . . . PG 57:191–202.

Fols. 80r–85r: Homily 12. Title: 'Ομιλία ΙΒ'. Τίτλος Γ'. Κεφ(άλαιον) ΙΓ'. Τότε παραγίνεται ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦς) ἀπο τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην. Inc.: Μετα τῶν δούλων

54 The references are to *Patrologia Graeca*. On the history of previous editions of the text of these homilies, see J. P. Langan, "The Text of Chrysostom's Homily 46 on Matthew in the Light of the Codex Guelferbytanus" (MA thesis, Loyola University Chicago, 1966), [https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc\\_theses/2153](https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/2153).

ὁ Δεσπότης· μετα τῶν ὑπευθύνων ὁ Κριτής ἔρχεται βαπτισθῆσόμενος· . . . PG 57:201–8.

Fols. 85r–92v: Homily 13. Title: 'Ομιλία ΙΓ'. Τίτλο(ς) Γ'. Κεφ(άλαιον) ΙΕ'. Τότε ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ἀνήχθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπο τοῦ πν(εύματος) πειρασθῆναι. Inc.: Τότε πότε· μετα τὴν τοῦ πν(εύματος) κάθοδον· . . . PG 57:207–18.

Fols. 92v–97r: Homily 14. Title: 'Ομιλία ΙΔ'. Τίτλος Γ'. Κεφ(άλαιον) ΙΗ'. Ἀκουσας δε ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὅτι Ἰωάννης παρεδοθη· ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. Inc.: Τίνας ἔνεκεν ἀνεχώρησεν [ἀναχωρεῖ; in PG] πάλιν· παιδεύων ἡμᾶς. . . PG 57:217–22.

Fols. 97v–110r: Homily 15. Title: <'Ομιλία ΙΕ'>. Κεφάλαιον ΚΔ'. Ἰδὼν δε ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς τοὺς ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος· κ(αὶ) καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ· κ(αὶ) ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς λέγων. Inc.: Ὅρα τὸ ἀφιλότημον καὶ ἀκόμψαστον· . . . PG 57:223–38.

Fols. 110r–122r: Homily 16. Title: 'Ομιλία ΙΣ'. Τίτλο(ς) Ε'. Κεφ(άλαιον) <ΛΓ?>.<sup>55</sup> Μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον καταλύσαι τὸν νόμον τοῦ ἡ(ι)οῦς προφήτ(ας). Inc.: Τίς γὰρ τοῦτο ὑπώπτευσεν· ἡ τίς ἐνεκάλεσεν . . . PG 57:237–54.

Fols. 122r–130v: Homily 17. Title: 'Ομιλία ΙΖ'. Τίτλο(ς) Ε'. Κεφ(άλαιον) ΑΖ'. Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρήθη [ἐρρήθη in PG] τοῖς ἀρχαίοις· Οὐ μοιχεύσεις· ἐγὼ δε λέγω ὑμῖν· ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ἐμβλέπων γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν· ἥδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Inc.: Ἀπαρτίσας τοίνυν τὴν προτεραν ἐντολὴν . . . PG 57:255–66.

Fols. 131r–137v: Homily 18. Title: 'Ομιλία ΙΗ'. Τίτλο(ς) Ε'. Κεφ(άλαιον) ΑΖ'. Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρήθη [ἐρρήθη in PG] ὁφθαλμὸν ἀντι ὁφθαλμοῦ· κ(αὶ) ὁδόντα ἀντι ὁδόντος· ἐγὼ δε λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ ἀλλ' ὅστις σε ραπίσει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα στρέψον αὐτῷ κ(αὶ) τὴν αλλήν· κ(αὶ) τῷ θέλοντι σοι κριθῆναι· κ(αὶ) τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν ἄφες αὐτῷ κ(αὶ) τὸ ἱμάτιον. Inc.: Ὅρᾳς ὅτι οὐ περι ὁφθαλμοῦ τα προτερα ἐλεγεν . . .<sup>56</sup> PG 57:265–74.

Fols. 137v–147v: Homily 19. Title: 'Ομιλία ΙΘ'. Τίτλο(ς) Ε'. Κεφ(άλαιον) ΜΒ'. Προσέχετε τὴν

ἐλεημοσύνην ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)-ων πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς. Inc.: Τὸ τυραννικώτερον πάντων λοιπον ἐξορίζει πάθος· . . . PG 57:273–86.

Fols. 147v–153v: Homily 20. Title: <'Ομιλία Κ'>. Ὅτ' ἂν [Ὅταν in PG] δε νηστεύητε· μὴ γίνεσθε ὥσπερ οἱ ὑποκριταὶ σκυθρωποὶ· ἀφανίζουσιν γὰρ τα πρόσωπα ἑαυτῶν [αὐτῶν in PG] ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀν(θρώπ)οις νηστεύοντες. Inc.: Καλὸν ἐνταῦθα στενάξαι μέγα καὶ οἰμῶξαι [ἀνοιμῶξαι in PG] πικρὸν· . . . PG 57:285–94.

Fols. 153v–157r: Homily 21. Title: 'Ομιλία ΚΑ'. Τίτλο(ς) Ε'. Κεφ(άλαιον) ΜΗ'. Οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶν κυρίοις δουλεύειν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἑνα μισήσει κ(αὶ) τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει· ἢ ἐνὸς ἀνθέξεται κ(αὶ) τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρο(νήσει). Inc.: Ὅρᾳς πῶς κατα μικρὸν τῶν ὄντων ἀφίστησιν· . . . PG 57:293–300.

Fols. 157v–162v: Homily 22 (the end is missing). Title: 'Ομιλία ΚΒ'. Τίτλο(ς) Ε'. Κεφάλαιον ΜΕ'. Καταμάθετε τα κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ πῶς αὐξάνει· οὐ κοπιᾷ οὐδὲ νήθει· λέγω δε ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδὲ Σολομῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ περιεβάλλετο ὡς ἐν τούτων. Inc.: Εἰπὼν περὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς· . . .; des. mut.: . . . ἐπιζητεῖ μόνον τοῦτο τὸ πῦρ[. PG 57:299–308; des. mut. at 306, line 49.

Fols. 163r–165v: Homily 23 (most of the homily's text is missing from the beginning). Inc. mut.: <ἀκρι>] βῆ σοι παρέσχον τὴν ἀπο τῶν ἔργων διάγνωσιν . . . PG 57:307–20; inc. mut. at 317, line 4.

Fols. 165v–170v: Homily 24. Title: 'Ομιλία ΚΔ'. Τίτλο(ς).<sup>57</sup> Κεφ(άλαιον) ΝΘ'. Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι Κ(ύρι)ε Κ(ύρι)ε εἰσελευσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐ(ρα)νῶν ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Π(ατ)ρ(ός) μου τοῦ ἐν ου(ρα)νοῖς. Inc.: Δια τί μὴ εἶπεν ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμὸν· . . . PG 57:321–28.

Fols. 171r–175v: Homily 25. Title: 'Ομιλία ΚΕ'. Τίτλο(ς). Κεφάλαιον.<sup>58</sup> Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς τοῦ(ς) λόγους τούτου(ς) ἐξεπλήσσοντο οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ. Inc.: Καὶ μὴν ἀκόλουθον ἦν· ἀλγεῖν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ φορτικὸν τῶν εἰρημένων. . . PG 57:327–34.

Fols. 176r–185r: Homily 26. Title: 'Ομιλία ΚΣ'. Τίτλο(ς). Κεφάλαιον.<sup>59</sup> Εἰσελθόντι δε αὐτῷ εἰς Καπερναοὺμ· προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ἑκατονταρχος

55 The number of the chapter is cropped at the top.

56 Note many missing diacritics in this title and the *incipit*. Some diacritics were added by a later hand in brown ink with a grayish tint.

57 A number is not given.

58 Numbers for the Τίτλο(ς) and Κεφάλαιον are not given.

59 Numbers for the Τίτλο(ς) and Κεφάλαιον are not given.

παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν κ(αι) λέγων· Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ παῖς μου βέβληται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ παραλελυμένος [παραλυτικός in PG]· δεινῶς βασανιζόμενος. Inc.: Ὁ μὲν λεπρὸς καταβάντι ἀπο τοῦ ὄρους προσήλθεν· . . . PG 57:333–44.

Fols. 185r–190r: Homily 27. Title: Ὁμιλία ΚΖ'. Τίτλο(ς) Η'. Κεφάλαιον ΞΖ'. Καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Πέτρου· εἶδεν τὴν πενθερὰν Πέτρου [αὐτοῦ in PG] βεβλημένην κ(αι) πυρέσσουσαν· κ(αι) ἤψατο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς· κ(αι) ἀφῆκεν αὐτὴν ὁ πυρετός· κ(αι) ἠγέρθη κ(αι) διεκόνει [sic; διηκόνει in PG] αὐτῷ. Inc.: Ὁ δὲ Μάρκος κ(αι) εὐθέως προσέθηκεν· . . . PG 57:343–50.

Fols. 190r–196v: Homily 28. Title: Ὁμιλία ΚΗ'. Ἐμβάντι δε αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον· ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ· κ(αι) ἰδοὺ σεισμὸς [χειμῶν in PG] μέγας ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ· ὥστε καλύπτεσθαι τὸ πλοῖον ὑπο τῶν κυμάτων. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκάθευδεν. Inc.: Ὁ μὲν Λουκᾶς ἀπαλλάττων ἑαυτὸν τοῦ ἀπαιτηθῆναι· . . . PG 57:349–58.

Fols. 196v–200r: Homily 29. Title: Ὁμιλία ΚΘ'. Τίτλο(ς) ΙΒ'. Κεφάλαιον Ο'. Καὶ ἐμβᾶς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον διεπέρασεν κ(αι) ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν· κ(αι) ἰδοὺ προσέφερον [προσήνεγκαν in PG] αὐτῷ παραλυτικὸν ἐπὶ κλίνης βεβλημένον· κ(αι) ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν. Λέγει [εἶπε in PG] τῷ παραλυτικῷ θάρσει τέκνον ἀφέωνταί σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου [ἀφέωνταί σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι in PG]. Inc.: Ἰδιαν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἐνταῦθα τὴν Καπερναὺμ λέγει· . . . PG 57:357–62.

Fols. 200r–207v: Homily 30. Title: Ὁμιλία Λ'. Τίτλο(ς) ΙΔ'. Κεφάλαιον ΟΑ'. Καὶ παράγων ὁ Κ(ύρι)ος [ὁ Ἰησοῦς in PG] ἐκείθεν εἶδεν ἀν(θρῶπ)ον ἐπὶ το τελωνιον [corrected to τελωνεῖον by a later hand] καθήμενον Ματθαῖον λεγόμενον. Κ(αι) λέγει αὐτῷ ἀκολούθη μοι. Inc.: Ποιήσας γὰρ τὸ θαῦμα [the last three accents were added by a later hand] οὐκ ἔμεινεν· [ἐπέμεινεν in PG] ἵνα μὴ τὸν ξῆλον ἐξάψῃ· . . . PG 57:361–70.

Fols. 207v–212v: Homily 31. Title: Λόγος ΛΑ' [in top margin by a later hand]. Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς ἰδοὺ ἄρχων εἰσέλθω(ν) προσεκύνει αὐτὸν λέγων ἢ θυγάτηρ μου αρτι ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἀλλὰ ἐλθὼν ἐπίθες τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐπ' αὐτὴν καὶ ζήσεται. Inc.: Κατέλαβεν τοὺς λόγους τὸ ἔργον. Ὡστε πλέον τοὺς Φαρισαίους [a second sigma was added by the scribe above the

iota and middle sigma] ἐπιστομισθῆναι· . . . [sic for all diacritics]. PG 57:369–76.

Fols. 212v–218v: Homily 32 (the end is missing). Title: Λόγος ΛΒ'. Καὶ παράγοντι ἐκείθεν τῷ Ἰ(ησοῦ) ἠκολούθησαν δύο τυφλοὶ κρᾶζοντες κ(αι) λέγοντες ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς υ(ι)ε Δα(υῖ)δ· κ(αι) ἐλθοντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν προσήλθον αὐτῷ οἱ τυφλοὶ· κ(αι) λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς πιστεύετε ὅτι δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ναὶ Κ(ύρι)ε· τότε ἤψατο [sic] τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν λέγων κατα τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν γεννηθήτω ὑμῖν κ(αι) ἠνεώχθησαν [ἀνεώχθησαν in PG] αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί. Inc.: Τί δήποτε παρέλκει αὐτοὺς κρᾶζοντας· . . .; des. mut.: . . . εἴτα αὐτῆς τὸ ἀξίωμα ἐρμηνεύων ἐπήγαγεν· [PG 57:377–88; des. mut. at 384, line 29.

Fols. 219r–220v: Homily 33 (most of the homily's text is missing). Inc. mut.: ]ἐπειδὴ καὶ παρόντων οὐκ ἐπεθύμει· [αὐτῶν after παρόντων in PG] . . . PG 57:387–98; inc. mut. at 395, line 46.

Fols. 220v–225r: Homily 34. Title: Λόγος ΛΔ'. Ὅταν διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν· ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν οὐ μὴ τελέσητε τὰς πόλεις τοῦ Ἰ(σρα)ήλ· ἕως ἂν ἐλθῇ ὁ υ(ιὸ)ς τοῦ ἀν(θρῶπ)ου. Inc.: Εἰπὼν ἐκεῖνα τα φοβερὰ καὶ φρικώδη ἃ καὶ ἀδάμαντα· . . . PG 57:397–404.

Fols. 225r–231r: Homily 35. Title: Λόγος ΛΕ'. Μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. Οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν. Inc.: Πάλιν τα φορτικώτερα τίθησιν καὶ μετα πολλῆς περιουσίας [τῆς περιουσίας in PG] . . . PG 57:405–12.

Fols. 231r–235v: Homily 36. Title: Λόγος ΛΣ'. Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν διατάσων [ὁ Ἰησοῦς before διαν τάσων in PG] τοῖς δώδεκα μαθηταῖς μετέβη ἐκείθεν τοῦ διδάσκειν καὶ κηρύσσειν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν. Inc.: Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν ὑπεξήγαγε λοιπὸν ἑαυτὸν· . . . PG 57:413–20.

Fols. 235v–242v: Homily 37. Title: Λόγος ΛΖ'. Τούτων δὲ πορευομένων ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς λέγειν τοῖς ὄχλοις περὶ Ἰωάννου· τί ἐξήλθατε [a small epsilon lon was added by the scribe above alpha; ἐξήλθατε in PG] εἰς τὴν ἔρημον θεασασθαι καλαμὸν ὑπο ἀνέμου σαλευόμενον· ἀλλὰ τί ἐξήλθατε [ἐξήλθατε in PG] ἰδεῖν ἄνθρωπον ἐν μαλακοῖς ἱματίοις ἡμφιεσμένον· ἰδοὺ οἱ τα μαλακὰ φοροῦντες ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τῶν βασιλείων [sic; βασιλείων in PG] εἰσὶν· ἀλλὰ τί ἐξήλθατε [ἐξήλθατε in PG] προφήτην ἰδεῖν· ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν κ(αι)

περισσότερον προφήτου. Inc.: Τὰ [Τὸ in PG] μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς μαθητὰς Ἰωάννου ὠκονομήθη καλῶς. . . PG 57:419–28.

Fols. 242v–246r: Homily 38. Title: Λόγος ΛΗ'. Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς εἶπεν ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι Π(άτ)ερ Κ(ύρι)ε τοῦ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ κ(αὶ) τῆς γῆς· ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας ταῦτα πάντα ἀπο σοφῶν κ(αὶ) συνειδῶν· κ(αὶ) ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις· ναὶ ὁ Π(ατ)ήρ ὅτι οὕτως ἐγένετο εὐδοκία ἔμπροσθέν σου. Inc.: Ὅρα [Ὁρᾶς in PG] δια πόσων αὐτοὺς ἐνάγει εἰς τὴν πίστιν. . . PG 57:427–34.

Fols. 246v–249v: Homily 39. Title: Λόγος ΛΘ'. Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐπορεύθη ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς τοῖς σάββασι δια τῶν σπορίμων· οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ [ἐπείνασαν, καὶ before ἤρξαντο in PG] ἤρξαντο τίλλειν τοὺς στάχυν καὶ ἐσθιειν. Inc.: Ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς φησὶν ἐν σαββάτῳ δευητέρῳ πρώτῳ [δευτεροπρώτῳ in PG] ὅτ' ἂν [ἔταν in PG] διπλῇ ἢ ἀργίᾳ ἤ. . . PG 57:433–38.

Fols. 250r–254r: Homily 40. Title: Λόγος Μ'. Καὶ μεταβάς ἐκεῖθεν ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν [συναγωγὴν in PG] κ(αὶ) ἰδοὺ ἂν(θρωπ)ος ἔχων τὴν χεῖρα ξηράν. Inc.: Πάλιν ἐν σαββάτῳ θεραπεύει· ὑπὲρ τῶν παρὰ τῶν μαθητῶν γεγεννημένων ἀπολογούμενος. . . PG 57:439–46.

Fols. 254v–258v: Homily 41. Title: Λόγος ΜΑ'. Εἰδὼς δὲ ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτῶν εἶπεν· πᾶσα βασιλεία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐρημωθήσεται· καὶ πᾶσα πόλις καὶ οἰκία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθήσεται· κ(αὶ) εἰ ὁ Σατανᾶς τὸν Σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλει ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμερίσθη· πῶς οὖν σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ. Inc.: Καὶ ἤδη τοῦτο κατηγορήσαν ὅτι ἐν τῷ Βεελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια. . . PG 57:445–52.

Fols. 258v–262v: Homily 42. Title: Λόγος ΜΒ'. Ἡ ποιήσατε τὸ δένδρον καλὸν καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ καλόν· ἢ ποιήσατε τὸ δένδρον σαπρὸν καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ σαπρὸν· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκειται. Inc.: Πάλιν ἐτέρως αὐτοὺς καταισχύνει· καὶ οὐκ ἀρκεῖται τοῖς πρότερον λεχθεῖσι· [προτέροις ἐλέγχους in PG] . . . PG 57:451–56.

Fols. 262v–268v: Homily 43. Title: Λόγος ΜΓ'. Τότε ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ τινὲς τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων λέγοντες· διδάσκαλε θέλωμεν [θέλομεν in PG] ἀπο σοῦ σημεῖον ἰδεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλλὶς σημεῖον ἐπιζητεῖ καὶ σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωάν. Inc.: Ἄρα τι

γένοιτο ἂν τούτων ἀπο<?>τότερον [should be ἀνοητότερον] μᾶλλον δὲ ἀσεβέστερον. . . PG 57:455–64.

Fols. 268v–272v (original ninth-century folios): Homily 44. Title: Λόγος ΜΔ'. Ἐτι δὲ αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος τοῖς ὄχλοις ἰδοὺ ἡ (μήτ)ηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ εἰστήκησαν [εἰστήκεισαν in PG] ἕξω ζητοῦντες αὐτῷ λαλῆσαι· εἶπεν δὲ τις αὐτῷ· ἰδοὺ ἡ (μήτ)ηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ σου ζητοῦσίν σοι λαλῆσαι· ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· τις ἐστὶν ἡ (μήτ)ηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου· καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ ἡ (μήτ)ηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μοι· [μου in PG] ὅστις γὰρ ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς μου· αὐτός μου καὶ ἀδελφός καὶ ἀδελφή καὶ (μήτ)ηρ ἐστίν. Inc.: Ὅπερ πρῶην ἔλεγον ὅτι ἀρετῆς χωρὶς ἅπαντα περιττὰ· . . ; des.: . . καὶ τὴν τῶν παρόντων ὑπερο[<ψίαν>]. PG 57:463–69, line 57.

Fols. 273r–274v (replacement folios): Inc.: <ὑπερο>[ψίαν· ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούοντες. . . PG 57:469, line 57–472.

### Physical Description

The manuscript is written on parchment and contains 274 folios. Modern foliation is in pencil in the upper-right corner. There are four modern parchment flyleaves (two at the beginning of the manuscript and two at the end). The folios measure 300–305 × 210–220 mm. The text is written in one column with the written surface of 228–243 × 144–155 mm. The text is written in thirty-three lines with interlinear space of 7 mm. The ruling patterns are Leroy C 01C1a and C 01A1a (Fig. 17).<sup>60</sup> The first letter of the ruling patterns' code (C), the second numeral (1), and a lowercase letter (a) at the end of the code signify that there is one horizontal line in the top margin, which extends only to the right justification line. This horizontal line was cropped on most folios during binding but is clearly visible on fols. 71, 72, 80, and several other folios. In the fourth quire (fols. 25–32) the ruling patterns are 10C1m and 20C1,<sup>61</sup> but it

60 Ernst Gamillscheg and Michel Aubineau have identified DO MS 7's ruling patterns as 00C1 and 00A; these scholars apparently did not notice the horizontal line in the top margins: E. Gamillscheg and M. Aubineau, "Eine unbekannte Chrysostomos-Handschrift (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, B. II. 25)," *Codices manuscripti* 7.4 (1981): 101–4, esp. 102.

61 Gamillscheg and Aubineau have erroneously identified the ruling patterns in the fourth quire as 020B1 [sic] and 10B1. The code B is

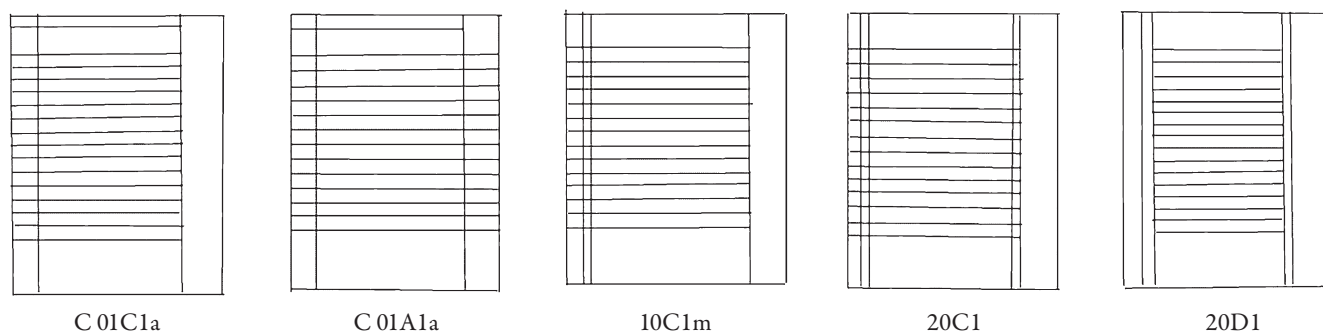


Fig. 17. DO MS 7. Ruling patterns. Drawings by the author.



Fig. 18. DO MS 7. Ruling systems. Drawings by the author.

is possible that these ruling patterns originally included an additional horizontal line in the top margin, which was cropped. If so, these patterns might have been C 11C1a and C 21C1a. The ruling system is Leroy 1, except for the third, fourth, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-seventh, thirtieth, and thirty-first quires, where the ruling system is Maniaci 19, and the thirty-third quire, where the ruling system is Leroy 10 (Fig. 18).<sup>62</sup>

The folios were ruled with dry sharp point. Pricking was mostly trimmed during binding; remaining punctures are in the bottom margins in the shape of small slits or round, apparently made with a knife. The script is positioned on the ruled lines and occasionally

across the lines.<sup>63</sup> By my estimate, originally there were thirty-six quires, collation: 1<sup>-1+1</sup> (fols. 1–8), 2–15<sup>8</sup> (fols. 9–120), 16<sup>10</sup> (fols. 121–30), 17–20<sup>8</sup> (fols. 131–62), <21<sup>8?</sup>>, 22–28<sup>8</sup> (fols. 163–218), <29<sup>8?</sup>>, 30–35<sup>8</sup> (fols. 219–66), and 36<sup>8-2+2</sup> (fols. 267–74).<sup>64</sup> The first quire lacks the first original folio, which was replaced at the end of the thirteenth century or in the beginning of the fourteenth; the twenty-first and twenty-ninth quires are missing with loss of text; the thirty-sixth quire lacks the seventh and eighth original folios, which were replaced at the end of the thirteenth century or in the beginning of the fourteenth; all other quires are regular quaternions except for the sixteenth quire, which is a quinion. Original quire signatures are missing; they were likely cropped during rebinding when the folios were heavily trimmed. Non-scribal signatures are in the middle of the bottom margins of fols. 16v, 24v, and 32v (the last folios of the second, third, and fourth quires). The non-scribal signatures were probably added in the fourteenth century; most were cropped during rebinding. The ink is medium brown

used when the horizontal lines extend from the inner edge of a folio to the vertical line(s) in the outer margin; the code C is used when the horizontal lines extend from the inner edge of a folio to the single- or double-justification line. The code A is used when the horizontal lines extend from the inner edge of a folio to the outer edge of a folio.

62 On ruling systems, see Leroy, “Quelques systèmes de réglure des manuscrits grecs”; Sautel, *Répertoire de réglures*; M. Maniaci, “Nuove considerazioni sui sistemi di rigatura: Fra teoria e osservazione,” in *Alethes philia: Studi in onore di Giancarlo Prato*, ed. M. D’Agostino and P. Degni (Spoleto, 2010), 489–504; M. Maniaci, “Per una nuova definizione e descrizione dei sistemi di rigatura: Considerazioni di metodo,” in *Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon*, 333–45; and J.-H. Sautel, “Quelques perspectives sur l’étude des systèmes de réglure des manuscrits grecs,” *Scriptorium* 72.1 (2018): 3–29.

63 On the significance of positioning of the minuscule script on the ruled lines, see above, n. 4.

64 I have estimated that two quires—the twenty-first (between fols. 162v and 163r) and twenty-ninth (between fols. 218 and 219), probably quaternions—are missing. This estimate is based on my calculations of how many lines of Chrysostom’s text in PG fit onto one page of the manuscript.

and light brown with a chestnut tint. The *kalamos* is thin. The quality and thickness of the parchment folios vary. The parchment is smooth, ivory white (flesh side) and yellowish to yellow (hair side); it is not of the best quality but carefully prepared. There are some imperfections (holes and scalloping); the dark hair follicles were thoroughly removed, and some holes were carefully patched. Fol. 213v is left blank because of defective parchment (there is no lacuna between fol. 213r and 214r). Wax stains are on some folios, as well as occasional soiling. Some flaking of text is on fols. 262v–263r and 266v–267r.

In the thirty-first quire, between fols. 229v and 230r, there is a strip of parchment with late twelfth-century or early thirteenth-century writing.<sup>65</sup> A blank stub, which is part of the strip with the writing, is placed between fols. 232v and 233r and is glued to fol. 232v. Evidently, the strip was used for a repair to reconnect a loose folio to the quire. Apparently, DO MS 7 was deemed so valuable that a newer manuscript was used to repair the older one.

### Replacement Folios

There are three replacement parchment folios (one in the beginning of the manuscript and two at the end). The text of the replacement folios is written in one column with the written surface of 222 × 140–143 mm. The text is written in thirty-four lines with interlinear space of 7 mm. The ruling pattern is Leroy 20D1. The script is suspended from the ruled lines. The parchment of these folios is thick and smooth; the contrast between the white flesh side and yellow hair side is pronounced; dark hair follicles are visible on fols. 273r and 274v. The replacement folios, which were inserted in the first and last quires, do not follow the so-called Gregory's rule of quire composition, which stipulates that the flesh side should face the flesh side, the hair side should face the hair side, and the flesh side should be on the outside of a quire. Therefore, a quire and a manuscript usually begin and end with a flesh side on the

outside, which prevents folios from curling. Why the restorer did not follow this rule cannot be determined.

### Script

The original manuscript was written by a single anonymous scribe. His script is small, clear, and rounded minuscule with slightly elongated upper and lower strokes of many letters (Fig. 19). Although there is a general impression of roundness, the elongated strokes add some angularity to the script. The script is almost upright with a slight inclination to the left. The minuscule is pure; the one exception I found is a majuscule double lambda on fol. 26r in the word *ἐμελλεν* (the first lambda is at the end of a line, and the second begins the next line). There are some small bulges at the upper end of strokes of some letters, such as eta, iota, and kappa. These bulges are not as pronounced and consistent as those in the minuscule of the manuscripts of the "philosophical collection" (attributed by scholars to the middle or to the third quarter of the ninth century) and those in the minuscule of the manuscripts written in minuscule pre-bouletée and bouletée (dated or attributed to the last quarter of the ninth century and to the first half of the tenth century, respectively).<sup>66</sup> The scribe

65 Because the number of fragmented words is insufficient, I was not able to identify the text. One word on the strip, *ἐθρήνει* (*imperfectum indicativi activi* of *θρηνέω*), is a relatively rare form, which is registered in only 255 instances in TLG. In twenty-four of these instances, this form is found in works by Chrysostom, so it is possible the strip was taken from a different Chrysostom manuscript to repair DO MS 7.

66 On the manuscripts of the philosophical collection, see T. W. Allen, "Palaeographica III: A Group of Ninth-Century Greek Manuscripts," *JPh* 21.41 (1893): 48–55; Follieri, "La minuscola libraria," 139–65, esp. 145f, pls. 6a–6c; B. L. Fonkič, "Scriptoria bizantini: Risultati e prospettive della ricerca," *RSBN* 17–19 (1980–1982): 73–118, at 93–99; L. Perria, "Scrittura e ornamentazione nei codici della 'collezione filosofica,'" *RSBN* 38 (1991): 45–111; L. Perria, "Alle origini della minuscola libraria greca: Morfologia e stilizzazioni," in *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito: Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca* (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998), ed. G. Prato, Papirologica Florentina 31 (Florence, 2000), 1:157–67, 3: pls. 13–14; A. Cataldi Palau, "Un nuovo codice della 'collezione filosofica': Il palinsesto *Parisinus graecus* 2575," *Scriptorium* 55.2 (2001): 249–74; M. Rashed, "Nicolas d'Otrante, Guillaume de Moerbeke et la 'collection philosophique,'" *StMed*, 3rd ser., 43 (2002): 693–717; G. Cavallo, "Da Alessandria à Costantinopoli? Qualche riflessione sulla 'collezione filosofica,'" *Segno e testo* 3 (2005): 249–63; G. Cavallo, "Qualche riflessione sulla 'collezione filosofica,'" in *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists: Proceedings of the Meeting of the European Science Foundation Network "Late Antiquity and Arabic Thought: Patterns in the Constitution of European Culture" Held in Strasbourg, March 12–14, 2004 under the Impulsion of the Scientific Committee of the Meeting, Composed by Matthias Baltes, Michel Cacouros, Cristina D'Ancona, Tiziano Dorandi, Gerhard Endreß, Philippe Hoffmann, Henri Hugonnard Roche*, ed. Cristina D'Ancona (Leiden, 2007), 155–65; D. Marcotte, "Le corpus géographique de Heidelberg (*Palat. Heidelb. gr.* 398) et les origines de la 'collection philosophique,'" in *The Libraries of the*

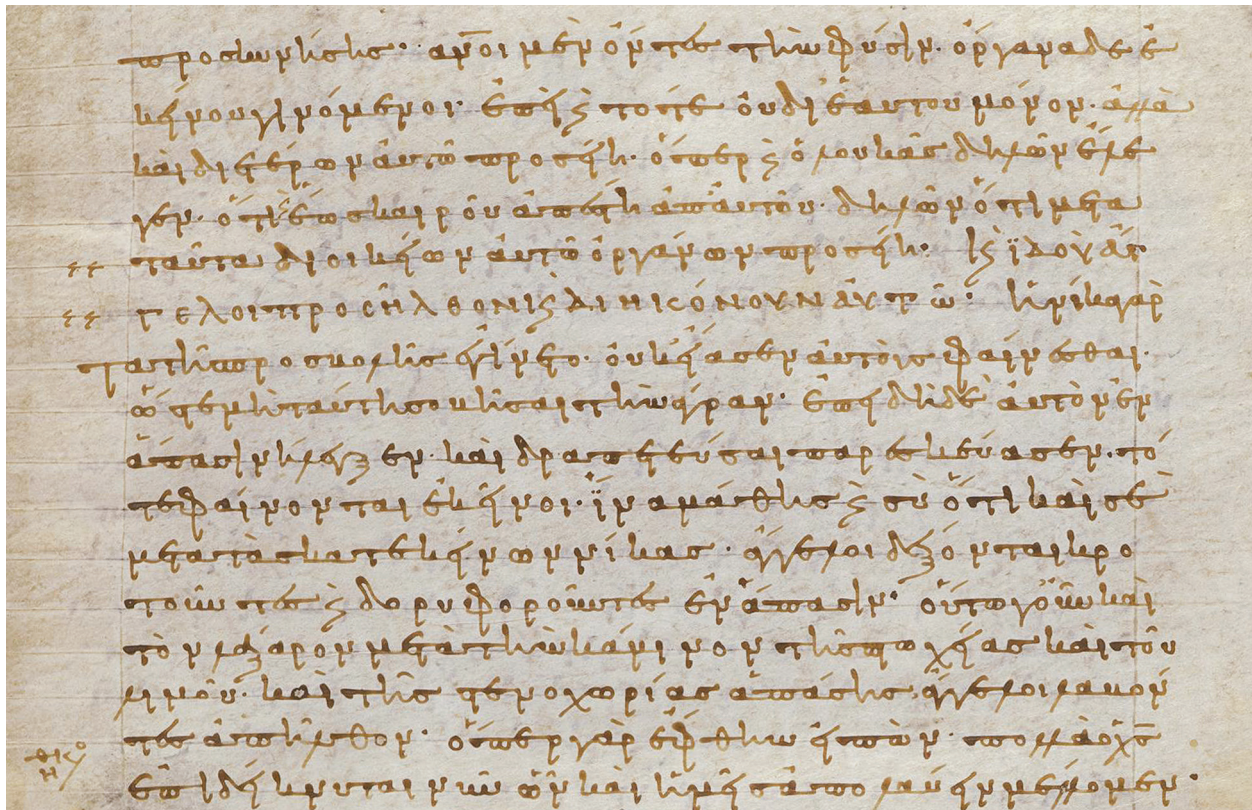


Fig. 19. DO MS 7, fol. 89r. The hand of the ninth-century scribe.

of DO MS 7 used a pen that distributed ink unevenly, and the transition from the pen full of ink to the almost empty one is clearly visible. When the pen was full of ink, small, rounded letters such as alpha and omicron

as well as upper loops of the letters delta and phi were often filled with ink (Fig. 20a–b).

The script can be characterized as a hybrid between the so-called Nikolaos style and *minuscula antica rotunda* (ancient rounded minuscule).<sup>67</sup> Distinctive letters and ligatures include minuscule kappa, which sometimes is written with a single stroke of a pen (Fig. 20c) and sometimes has an ancient form and consists of two strokes: a tall vertical stroke similar to iota, to which a rounded short stroke is attached (Fig. 20d). Double gamma is in the shape of a “w” (Fig. 20e). Minuscule double lambda has two forms (Fig. 20f). Double tau has an ancient form, in which the second tau resembles gamma (Fig. 20g). Zeta and xi have various forms (Figs. 20h–i). An alpha at the end of a line

*Neoplatonists*, 167–75; F. Ronconi, “Il Palat. Heid. gr. 398: Un miscellaneo nella ‘collezione filosofica,’” in F. Ronconi, *I manoscritti greci miscellanei: Ricerche su esemplari dei secoli IX–XII* (Spoleto, 2007), 33–75, figs. 1–15; N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Cataloguing Greek Manuscripts in the Collections of the USA: New Findings and Identifications,” in B. Atsalos and N. Tsironi, eds., *Πρακτικά του 5<sup>ου</sup> Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Ελληνικής Παλαιογραφίας (Δράμα, 21–27 Σεπτεμβρίου 2003)/Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Colloque International de Paléographie Grecque (Drama, 21–27 septembre 2003)* (Athens, 2008), 2:809–14; N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America: Part V.3; Harvard University, the Houghton Library and Andover-Harvard Theological Library,” *Manuscripta* 55.1 (2011): 1–108, at 17–29; F. Ronconi, “La collection philosophique: Un fantôme historique,” *Scriptorium* 67 (2013): 119–40; and D. Bianconi and F. Ronconi, eds., *La ‘collection philosophique’ face à l’histoire: Péripéties e tradition*, Miscellanea 22 (Spoleto, 2020). On the minuscule pre-bouletée and bouletée, see above, nn. 7, 8, 9, and 13.

<sup>67</sup> The term “hybrid style” was proposed by Santo Lucà: S. Lucà, “Osservazioni codicologiche e paleografiche sul Vaticano Ottoboniano greco 86,” *BollGrott* 37 (1983): 105–46, esp. 121–22, pls. 1–18. On the Nikolaos style and *minuscula antica rotunda*, see Follieri, “La minuscola libraria,” 143–44.



Fig. 20. DO MS 7. Distinctive letters and ligatures: (a) alpha, fol. 10v; (b) phi, fol. 4r; (c) kappa, fol. 4r; (d) kappa, fol. 225r; (e) double gamma, fol. 6r; (f) double lambda, fols. 225r and 231r; (g) double tau, fol. 4r; (h) zeta (two forms), fols. 231r and 232r; (i) xi (three forms), fols. 21r, 232r, and 236r; (j) tau and alpha, fol. 157v; (k) αὐτῶ[ν], fol. 161r; (l) epsilon and sigma, fols. 232r and 172r; (m) καί, fols. 21r, 231r, and 21r; and (n) epsilon and rho, fol. 52v.

sometimes is attached to the preceding consonant letter and is written above it (Fig. 20j). A nu at the end of a line is occasionally abbreviated; the abbreviation is marked with a short horizontal line, which has small hooks at the ends (Fig. 20k). Some letters at the end of a line have an elongated horizontal flourish, especially epsilon and sigma (Fig. 20l). Tachygraphic abbreviation for *καί* is usually in the shape of a zigzag with a small hook at the bottom but sometimes consists of a vertical line and a zigzag (Fig. 20m). Occasionally, ligature epsilon-rho is written in the shape of an *as de pique*, especially in marginal notes (Fig. 20n). This ligature is commonly found in papyri and in early minuscule.

Diacritics are small; both smooth and rough breathings are angular. Grave accents are shorter than acute ones. Diaeresis is used above iotas and upsilons. Nomina sacra are abbreviated; the abbreviations are marked with a simple short horizontal line, which sometimes has small hooks at the ends. Punctuation marks are *ano teleia*, *koronis*, and periods; semicolons (Greek question marks) are not used.

Accents and breathings are irregular and often missing, especially above prepositions and auxiliary words such as *ἀπό*, *δέ*, *ἐπί*, *μετά*, *πρός*, *τίς*, *ὑπό*, but also above some ordinary words. These irregularities are indications of an early minuscule, probably of the first half of the ninth century, the time of transition from the majuscule script, which utilized diacritics only sporadically, to the minuscule script, which became fully equipped with diacritics by the end of the ninth century except for iota subscript (the use of iota subscript was not established until the twelfth century).<sup>68</sup> Scribes of some early ninth-century minuscule manuscripts employed diacritics irregularly—for example, scribe II of BAV, Vat. Ottob. gr. 86 (Diktyon 65327), attributed by Lucà to the first half of the ninth century and identified by him as a product of the Stoudios scriptorium.<sup>69</sup>

The titles of the homilies and citations from the Gospels are written in Alexandrian distinguishing majuscules in the same ink as the main text.<sup>70</sup> This distinguishing script is only slightly larger than the minuscule script of the main text.

Scripts similar to that of DO MS 7 can be found in manuscripts such as London, British Library, Arundel 532 (scribe Nikephoros; Diktyon 39283); Mount Athos, Karyes, Library of the Protaton, 18 (Diktyon 18047); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 331 (scribe I; Diktyon 44779) and gr. 457 (Diktyon 44905); Patmos, St. John the Theologian Monastery, 742 (Diktyon 54980); BnF, Coisl. 347 (Diktyon 49488); NLR, gr. 219 (scribe Nikolaos, ca. 835; Diktyon 57291); BAV, Vat. gr. 2079 (Diktyon 68709), Vat. Ottob. gr. 86, and Vat. Palat. gr. 123 (Diktyon 65855); BNM, gr. Z 99 (Diktyon 69570); and ÖNB, Phil. gr. 100 (Diktyon 71214) and Theol. gr. 108 (Diktyon 71775).<sup>71</sup>

### *Script of Replacement Folios*

The replacement folios (fols. 1r–v and 273r–274v) were written by a single scribe, who restored the lost or damaged original folios. The title on fol. 1r is written in vertical Alexandrian distinguishing majuscules. The word 'OMIATA A' is written in large and vertical epigraphic distinguishing majuscules in the top margin.<sup>72</sup> The script of the replacement folios is a medium-size, vertical, archaizing minuscule of the end of the thirteenth century or the first half of the fourteenth.<sup>73</sup> The scribe of the replacement folios was obviously an

71 For bibliographic references and links to digitized images of these manuscripts, see <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>. On the codex Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 331, see B. Mondrain, "Une écriture cursive grecque inconnue du X<sup>e</sup> siècle dans le manuscrit de Munich gr. 331," *Scriptorium* 54.2 (2000): 252–67, pls. 42–45. On the codex Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 457, see L. Perria, "Paleographica," *RBSN*, n.s. 37 (2000): 43–72, pls. 1–4; on BAV, Vat. Ottob. gr. 86, see Lucà, "Osservazioni."

72 On epigraphic distinguishing majuscules, see above, n. 19.

73 On the archaizing minuscule, see G. Prato, "Scritture librerie arcaizzanti della prima età dei Paleologi e loro modelli," *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 (1979): 151–93, pls. 1–20, repr. in G. Prato, *Studi di paleografia greca* (Spoleto, 1994), 73–114, pls. 1–24; G. Prato, "I manoscritti greci dei secoli XIII e XIV: Note paleografiche," in *Paleografia e codicologia greca: Atti del II colloquio internazionale (Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17–21 ottobre 1983)*, ed. D. Harlfinger and G. Prato with M. D'Agostino and A. Doda (Alexandria, 1991), 1:131–49, 2: pls. 1–16, repr. in Prato, *Studi di paleografia greca*, 115–31, pls. 1–24; H. Hunger and O. Kresten, "Archaisierende Minuskel und Hodegonstil im 14. Jahrhundert," *JÖB* 29 (1980): 187–236; G. De Gregorio and G. Prato, "Scrittura arcaizzante in codici profani e sacri della prima età paleologa," *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 45 (2003): 59–101; and I. Pérez Martín, "El 'estilo Hodegos' y su proyección en las escrituras constantinopolitanas," *Segno e testo* 6 (2008): 389–458, repr. in *Πρακτικά*, 1:71–130.

68 On dating early Greek minuscule manuscripts, see B. L. Fonkič, "Sulla datazione dei codici greci del secolo IX," in *Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon*, 31A:37–43.

69 Lucà, "Osservazioni."

70 On the Alexandrian distinguishing majuscules, see above, n. 7.

Fig. 21.  
DO MS 7, fol. 1r. The  
hand of the restorer  
(the last quarter of the  
thirteenth or the first  
quarter of the  
fourteenth century).



accomplished calligrapher, who probably worked in Constantinople (Fig. 21).

Paleographic features of the archaizing script of the replacement folios include enlarged majuscule epsilons, zetas, and kappas. Majuscule deltas are flattened (Fig. 21, line 4 of the main text). Some majuscule zetas are in the shape of an upper part of a question mark, which is common in the archaizing minuscule of the end of the thirteenth century and throughout the fourteenth. The minuscule zetas are in the shape of the number “3” and are enlarged. Closed forms of theta are somewhat enlarged and have a straight inner horizontal

line, which is usually placed in the lower part of the oval body (Fig. 21, lines 2, 6, 7). The lower strokes of majuscule lambdas descend below the line (Fig. 21, lines 2, 3, 4). Taus are often tall (Fig. 21, line 3). Some upsilons are also enlarged and are in the shape of a shallow bowl (Fig. 21, lines 10, 11 *ab imo*). Some letters are “glued” together—for example, phi and theta on fol. iv. At the end of a line, strokes of many letters are elongated and extend to the right margin, especially the upper stroke of sigma.

Diacritics are regular. Breathings are small and rounded. Acute and grave accents are of medium size,

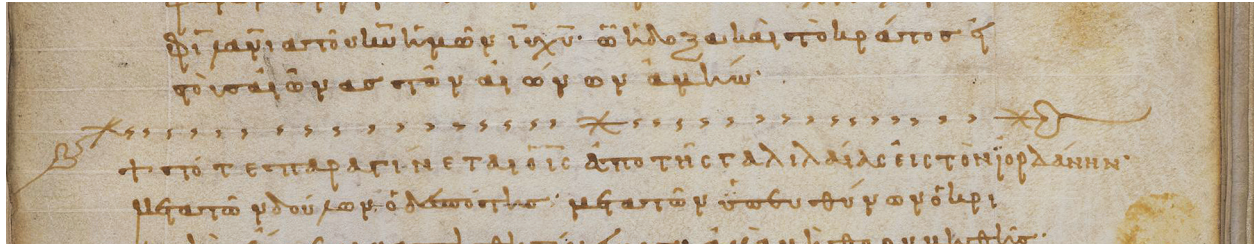


Fig. 22. DO MS 7, fol. 80r. Division bar.

and they are almost upright. Circumflexes are enlarged and are in the shape of an arc. Contraction signs over *nomina sacra* are in the form of a straight line or tilde.

Similar archaizing scripts can be found in many manuscripts produced at the end of the thirteenth century or in the first half of the fourteenth—for example, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 11, 22 (Diktyon 16176), which was copied by the *presbyteros* Strategios in 1285; the so-called Smyrna Lectionary, which was copied by the monk David in 1298;<sup>74</sup> Ann Arbor, Mich. Ms. 34 (Diktyon 891), probably copied by the same monk David; London, British Library, Add. MS 29714 (Diktyon 39083), copied in 1305/1306 by the scribe Ignatios; Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, F 17 (Diktyon 56337), copied by the priest Michael Kalothetos in 1330; EBE, 2251 (Diktyon 4283); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. gr. 84 (Diktyon 47634); BnF, gr. 2948 (Diktyon 52588) and Coisl. 311 (Diktyon 49452); and BAV, Vat. gr. 1302 (Diktyon 67933).<sup>75</sup> All these manuscripts are either part of the so-called Palaiologina group or are closely related to this group.<sup>76</sup>

74 The scribe-monk David is listed in M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, eds., *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 33 (Leipzig, 1909, repr. 1966), 100, and in *PLP* 3: no. 5013. The current location of the Smyrna Lectionary is not known, and it is presumed to be lost. Several images from this manuscript were preserved and published in S. Papadakis-Oekland, “Οι μικρογραφίες ενός χαμένου χειρογράφου του 1298,” *Δελτ. Χριστ. Αρχ. Έτ.* 8 (1975–76): 29–54, pls. 14–39.

75 For bibliographic references and links to digitized images of these manuscripts, see <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>.

76 On the Palaiologina group, see H. Buchthal and H. Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople: An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy* (Washington, DC, 1978), 95; Fonkič, “*Scriptoria bizantini*,” 113–16; K. Maxwell, “Another Lectionary of the ‘Atelier’ of the Palaiologina, Vat. gr. 352,” *DOP* 37 (1983): 47–53; R. S. Nelson and J. Lowden, “The Palaeologina Group: Additional Manuscripts and New Questions,” *DOP* 45 (1991): 59–68; “Byzantine Studies Conference Archives: Twenty-Sixth Annual

The manuscripts of the Palaiologina group were produced in Constantinople for the members of the elite of Byzantine society. Many of these manuscripts are of deluxe quality and richly illuminated, but some are not decorated, especially those with secular content. In the view of Inmaculada Pérez Martín, the manuscripts of the Palaiologina group were produced in the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople, and the archaizing writing style of these manuscripts was the first step in the development of the “Hodegon writing style” of the fourteenth century.<sup>77</sup> Pérez Martín’s identification of the main scribe of the Palaiologina group as the monk David corroborates her hypothesis.

### Decoration

The original decoration is minimal and purely functional. The beginning of each homily is marked with a cross. Narrow division bars separate homilies (Fig. 22). The bars are made of small zigzag or triangular patterns and are flanked on both sides by small heart-shaped leaves and/or small diagonal crosses with a horizontal bar or dots (\*). The bars were obviously drawn by the scribe himself with the ink of the main text. Most initials are written in minuscule and not ornamented; they are slightly enlarged and placed in the margins. Only two initials, at the beginning of homilies ten (fol. 65r) and fifteen (fol. 97v), are enlarged and slightly pen-ornamented (Fig. 23).

Byzantine Studies Conference; Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts: October 26–29, 2000 Harvard University,” Byzantine Studies Association of North America, Inc., [https://bsana.net/conference/archives/2000/abstracts\\_2000.php](https://bsana.net/conference/archives/2000/abstracts_2000.php); I. Hutter, “Schreiber und Maler der Palaiologenzeit in Konstantinopel,” in *Πρακτικά*, 2:159–90; and Pérez Martín, “El ‘estilo Hodegos,’” 1:94–111, 3:950–77, esp. 950–55.

77 Pérez Martín, “El ‘estilo Hodegos.’”

Fig. 23.  
DO MS 7. Initials  
(a) pi, fol. 65r; and  
(b) omicron, fol. 97v.



Fig. 24. DO MS 7. Connective signs. Drawings by the author.

### *Decoration of the Replacement Folio*

Replacement folio 1r, which begins the manuscript, features a narrow headband and a slightly pen-floriated initial epsilon (Fig. 21). The headband measures 142 × 7 mm, and the initial is 32 mm tall. The headband was executed in the hollow style: that is, the ornament is left blank, and the background is colored. The ornament consists of an undulating vegetal garland. The headband has small teardrop finials at the four corners. The headband was almost certainly created by the scribe of the replacement folios, who used pale, pinkish-brownish ink for the headband, initial, and title. This kind of pale, pinkish-brownish ink was popular at the end of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth and was used for the simple decoration of manuscripts that lack elaborate illumination.

### *Colophon*

None.

### *Marginalia*

Throughout the manuscript, one finds numerous glosses, comments, corrections, and variant readings, most of which are by the hand of the main ninth-century scribe. Quotation marks indicate biblical

passages. The scribe used several different connective signs to link marginalia to a particular place in the main text.<sup>78</sup> The sign % was most frequently used. The other connective signs are pictured on Fig. 24.

On several folios, the main scribe wrote σημείωσαι (*nota bene*), ωραϊον (beautiful/fine or useful), and occasionally χρηστός (useful). These words were usually written in an abbreviated form in the margins. The scribe also indicated dogmatic and ethical (moral) passages by writing the words δογμα(τικός) [λόγος] and ἡθ(ι)κό(ς) [λόγος], and he added some comments in the margins. Many comments on top margins were cropped. In the margin of fol. 258r the main scribe wrote: σημείωσαι φοβερὸν (*nota bene*: frightening), thereby marking the passage about burning in hell if one neglected poor people.

Some marginal notes were written in informal, slanted cursive by a different contemporaneous scribe, who used a sharper pen and lighter ink. Some of this scribe's marginalia begin with the words “ἐν ἄλλῳ <sc. βιβλίῳ>,” i.e., “in other <sc. manuscript>”—for

78 The connective signs in the early Greek minuscule manuscripts have not been systematically studied. On this subject, see B. Atsalos, “Les signes de renvoi dans les manuscrits grecs,” in *Paleografia e codicologia greca*, 1:211–31, and Perria, “Scrittura e ornamentazione.”

example, on fols. 111v, 120v, 179r, 185r, 198r, 200r, 201v, 202r, 202v, and 209v. These marginalia indicate that this scribe had a second manuscript in front of him, and he was comparing the texts. Some σημείωσαι signs were also written by this second scribe.

At the beginning of each homily a later hand (fifteenth century?) added the word φύλλ(α) and a Greek letter-numeral to indicate how many folios a particular homily occupies. This word and the number are written in the outer margin next to the title of a homily in grayish-brown ink.

There are lection notes in bright-red ink throughout the manuscript. They were written at a later date, probably in the second half of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth. The lection notes indicate days of the week when a lection should be read, and they mark ἀρχή (the beginning of reading) and τέλος (the end of reading).

### *Binding*

The manuscript was probably rebound twice: once at the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth, when the original binding together with the first and last two folios was replaced. The restoration was probably done in Constantinople, possibly in the Hodegon Monastery. The second rebinding was done circa 1900 in England by a British bookbinder, Douglas Cockerell. The cover consists of thick oak boards, quarter bound with morocco leather, which is blind stamped with Arts & Crafts ornament. Two woven leather straps are at the back cover, and two metal catches are in the front fore-edge.

### *Interpretation and Analysis*

The writing style of the main scribe of DO MS 7 combines core features of the Nikolaos style and minuscula antica rotunda. This hybrid style indicates that the manuscript was copied in the ninth century. Ernst Gamillscheg and Michael Aubineau have proposed the late ninth-century date for this manuscript and its possible origin in the Stoudios scriptorium.<sup>79</sup> These scholars' conclusion is based on the similarity of DO MS 7's script with that of Nikolaos of Stoudios and the similarity of ruling patterns with those in Stoudite manuscripts BAV, Vat. gr. 1660 (the scribe Ioannes, ca. 916;

Diktyon 68291), 1667 (attributed to the first half of the tenth century; Diktyon 68298), and 1671 (attributed to the first half of the tenth century; Diktyon 68302).

But reliable criteria for dating and localizing ninth-century minuscule manuscripts are sorely lacking. Very few (about ten) manuscripts from that period are securely dated and localized. Only one manuscript from the first half of the ninth century is dated and localized by a scribal colophon—codex NLR, gr. 219, the so-called Uspenskii Gospels, which was written by the scribe and *hegoumenos* of the Stoudios Monastery, Nikolaos, in 835. The second ninth-century manuscript dated by colophon is Greece, Meteora, Metamorphosis Monastery, 591 (Diktyon 42002), which was written by the monk-scribe Eustathios in 862/63 in the monastery of St. Anna in Bithynia, probably in the Stoudite metochion. All other securely dated ninth-century manuscripts were produced in the last quarter of the ninth century.

Codex NLR, gr. 219, was written in small, pure minuscule, which is characterized by the angularity of letters and “energetic” letter xi (Nikolaos style). Other manuscripts written in a similar style are, for example, the previously mentioned Patmos, St. John the Theologian Monastery, 742, and BAV, Vat. Ottob. gr. 86 (see above, p. 355). Greece, Meteora, Metamorphosis Monastery, 591, was also written in pure minuscule, which is larger and more angular than that of Nikolaos and with elongated strokes of many letters. The script of the Meteora codex has been characterized by Enrica Follieri as *minuscola antica oblunga*. Similar scripts can be found in several Stoudite manuscripts of the second half of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth—for example, GIM, Sinod. gr. 254/Vladimir 117 (Diktyon 43879), copied by the scribe Athanasios in 880. Follieri views the Nikolaos style and the *minuscola antica rotunda* as identical writing styles. Lucà, however, sees differences between the two styles and proposes a third term, the “hybrid style,” which combines the features of both the Nikolaos style and *minuscola antica rotunda*.<sup>80</sup> I agree with Lucà that these two writing styles are different, where one is angular and the other is rounded, and that many early ninth-century manuscripts are written in the hybrid style.

79 Gamillscheg and Aubineau, “Eine unbekannte Chrysostomos-Handschrift,” 102.

80 Follieri, “La minuscola libraria,” 143, and Lucà, “Osservazioni,” 119–22.

Unfortunately, none of the manuscripts written in minuscola antica rotonda or the hybrid style are securely dated. Therefore, some other features in addition to the writing styles must be used for dating DO MS 7. One such feature is the pureness of the minuscule, which means that no or almost no majuscule forms of letters were used by the scribe except for the titles or citations. All securely dated manuscripts from the second half of the ninth century and later have majuscule letters inserted into the minuscule. In general, the more majuscule letters are present in the minuscule, the later the date of the manuscript, although attempts to calculate precise correlation have failed.<sup>81</sup> DO MS 7 features pure minuscule, so it is quite likely that this manuscript was produced in the first half of the ninth century.

The second auxiliary feature is the absence or irregularity of diacritics. The importance of this feature for dating a manuscript has been studied in detail by Boris Fonkič, who observes that manuscripts written in early minuscule often have irregular diacritics or lack them altogether.<sup>82</sup> As I observed earlier, in DO MS 7 accents and breathings are irregular and often missing (see above, p. 355), and this feature also points to the first half of the ninth century as the most likely period of DO MS 7's production. Although some manuscripts copied in the second half of the ninth century display irregular diacritics—for example, Oxford, Bodleian Library, D'Orville 301 (Euclid, *Elements*; Diktyon 47906), which was written by Stephanos *klerikos* for Arethas of Caesarea in 888—such manuscripts differ paleographically from DO MS 7. The script of Stephanos, the scribe of D'Orville 301, can be characterized as pre-bouletée, which has more in common with the script of the manuscripts of the philosophical collection than with minuscola antica rotonda and the hybrid style of DO MS 7.

Taking into consideration all paleographic features of DO MS 7, I conclude that this manuscript was likely produced in the first half of the ninth century

and almost certainly no later than the middle of the ninth century. Therefore, DO MS 7 is probably the earliest surviving manuscript of the text of the first forty-four of Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew* and is important for any future critical edition of these homilies.

Now I will focus on the localization of DO MS 7. Localization of the ninth-century manuscripts presents the same difficulty as dating: only in a handful of manuscripts has a scribe identified the place of production. Stoudios Monastery is the only known center where several ninth-century manuscripts were copied, most of them in the last quarter of the century. Gamillscheg and Aubineau have suggested that DO MS 7 was possibly copied in the Stoudios scriptorium because of the similarity of the DO MS 7's script to that of Nikolaos of Stoudios. But my paleographic analysis demonstrates that although DO MS 7's minuscule has some features similar to the Nikolaos style, it also has many features of minuscola antica rotonda and therefore can be characterized as a hybrid script.

But the most persuasive argument against the Stoudite origin of DO MS 7 is its codicological features, which are very different from the Stoudite tradition of making manuscripts. This tradition was established by Theodore of Stoudios (759–826).<sup>83</sup> It includes distinctive codicological features common to *all* ninth- and early tenth-century Stoudite manuscripts: there was careful preparation of the parchment, which was of average quality, and the ruling of the quires was made with a sharp instrument either on the four bifolia (system 3) or two bifolia (system 11) stacked one on the top of the other.<sup>84</sup> The ruling in early Stoudite manuscripts was made on the flesh side of the parchment, and this tradition differs from a common Byzantine practice, in which rulings were made on the hair side. The Stoudite scribes did not use ruled lines for the text, and the ruling patterns had only a frame, often with a horizontal line in the middle. Another hallmark of early Stoudite manuscripts is the use of crosslets (one to four) in addition to quire signatures. The crosslets were placed in the top margins of the first folio of each quire. These

81 See, for example, P. Thillet, "Insertions d'oncials et abbreviations dans le cod. Venetus Marcianus gr. 258 (=668)," in *Miscellanea marciiana di studi Bessarionei (a coronamento del V centenario della donazione nicena)*, Medioevo e umanesimo 24 (Padua, 1976), 387–406.

82 B. L. Fonkič, "Aux origines de la minuscule stoudite (les fragments moscovite et parisien de l'œuvre de Paul d'Égine)," in *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito: Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998)*, ed. G. Prato (Florence, 2000), 1:169–86, and Fonkič, "Sulla datazione dei codici greci."

83 On this subject, see Fonkič, "Aux origines de la minuscule stoudite." On Theodore of Stoudios, see *ODB* 3:2044–45.

84 On codicological features of early Stoudite manuscripts, see N. F. Kavrus, "Studiiskii skriptorii v IX v. po materialam rukopisei Moskovy i Leningrada," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 44 (1983): 98–111, esp. 108–9.

codicological characteristics are very consistent in Stoudite manuscripts produced in the ninth century, and the combination of these characteristics has not been found in any manuscript produced elsewhere.<sup>85</sup> These consistent characteristics enable scholars to assign several ninth-century manuscripts without colophons to the Stoudite ergasterion—for example, BAV, Ottob. gr. 86 and Gruber 152 (Diktyon 12966).<sup>86</sup>

All DO MS 7's codicological features are different from those of the ninth-century manuscripts produced in the Stoudios Monastery's ergasterion. Therefore, I conclude that it is unlikely that DO MS 7 was copied in the Stoudios monastery. But this manuscript was very likely produced in a major center of manuscript production, probably in Constantinople. The excellent quality of script attests that the anonymous scribe was a highly trained professional calligrapher. During the entire ninth century and in the first half of the tenth, a major effort was undertaken to transliterate the vast patristic and homiletic literature from majuscule to the new writing style—minuscule—and DO MS 7 was evidently a part of that effort. This task was enormous, and probably no monastery or scriptorium could accomplish this task single-handedly. Because the existence of ninth-century Constantinopolitan scriptoria other than the Stoudite ergasterion cannot be documented, I can only hypothesize that transliteration of patristic literature from majuscule to minuscule was undertaken under the patronage of patriarchs and emperors, and it is possible that there was a patriarchal scriptorium and library, where DO MS 7 was created.

DO MS 7 contains the first forty-four homilies out of ninety on the Gospel of Matthew by Chrysostom. It was tempting to find the second volume—a companion to DO MS 7—containing homilies forty-five through ninety. Only one ninth-century manuscript with such

content is known: Greece, Meteora, Metamorphosis Monastery, 591 copied in 862/63 in the monastery of St. Anna in Kios, Bithynia. But it is unlikely that this codex could be the second volume of DO MS 7. The Meteora codex has all codicological characteristics of the Stoudite manuscripts and was evidently produced in the Stoudite tradition of manuscript making. And, as Gamillscheg and Aubineau have already noted, the Meteora manuscript's paleographic tradition is very different from that of DO MS 7.

The further history of DO MS 7 is connected with Constantinople, where the missing and damaged folios of the manuscript were restored in the end of the thirteenth century or the first half of the fourteenth, during the period in Byzantine history known as the "Palaeologan Renaissance." This work was almost certainly done in one of the major monasteries, such as the Hodegon, which is well-known for its restoration of old manuscripts. For example, the lectionary GIM, Sinod. gr. 511 (Diktyon 44136), was written entirely in gold over carmine ink in the last quarter of the eleventh century and was restored by the famous Hodegon calligrapher Ioasaph II, who in the second half of the fourteenth century replaced several lost and damaged folios.<sup>87</sup>

In sum, my paleographic and codicological analyses of DO MS 7 enable me to date this manuscript to the first half of the ninth century and to conclude that it was created in one of the Constantinopolitan centers of manuscript production, quite possible in the patriarchal scriptorium. It is likely that this manuscript was a part of a major project to transliterate manuscripts written in majuscule script into minuscule. This project is comparable with the transfer of texts from manuscripts to printed books and with the recent project of digitizing books and manuscripts.

85 See the table of codicological characteristics of all known Stoudite manuscripts of the ninth century in Kavrus, "Studiiskii skriptorii," 109.

86 Lucà, "Osservazioni"; N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America, Part IX: Chicago, Illinois, the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, the Jesuit-Krauss-McCormick Library," *Manuscripta* 59.1 (2015): 61–134, esp. 117–31; and Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Producing New Testament Manuscripts in Byzantium," 123–26, fig. 5.5. Codex BAV, Gruber 152 was in the Jesuit-Krauss-McCormick Library in the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago. In 2017, the manuscript was given to Patriarch Bartholomew I and is now housed in the library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul.

87 On GIM, Sinod. gr. 511, see N. F. Kavrus, "Imperatorskii skriptorii v XI veke," *VizVrem* 49 (1988): 134–42, esp. 139f, fig. 11; A. Zakharova, "Grecheskoe Evangelie-Aprakos Sin. gr. 511 iz GIMa: Istoriia, kodikologiya, tekst i dekorativnoe oformlenie," *Khudozhestvennoe nasledie: Khranenie, issledovaniia, restavratsiia* 20 (2003): 7–19; and V. G. Putsko, "Konstantinopol'skii 'Zolotoi Kodeks' Uspenskogo Sobora Moskovskogo Kremliia," in *Monfokon: Issledovaniia po paleografii, kodikologii i diplomatike* (Moscow, 2007), 116–37. On the restoration of manuscripts in Byzantium, see D. Bianconi, *Cura et studio: Il restauro del libro a Bisanzio*, Hellenica 66 (Alexandria, 2018), and E. Dobrynina, "'Spolia' as a Phenomenon in Greek and Latin Illuminated Manuscripts: An Approach to the Question," *Scripta: An International Journal of Codicology and Palaeography* 11 (2018): 67–73.

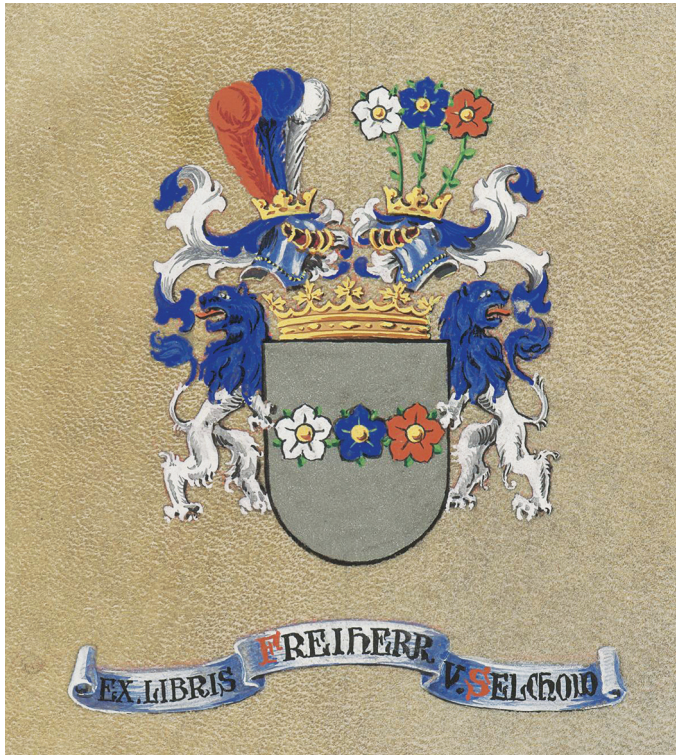


Fig. 25. DO MS 7. Coat of arms of Freiherr von Selchow.

### Provenance

DO MS 7 was created in the first half of the ninth century, most likely in Constantinople.<sup>88</sup> In the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth, the manuscript underwent restoration when damaged folios, one at the beginning and two at the end, were replaced. The restoration probably took place in the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople.

Nothing is known about the manuscript's whereabouts before 1909, when it was offered for sale at Bernard Quaritch Ltd, London (no. 271), offered again in 1910 (no. 290), and sold to a German book dealer, Karl W. Hiesermann of Leipzig, in 1914. Probably immediately in 1914, the manuscript was acquired by a member of a prominent German family, Freiherr von Selchow. An ex libris with the coat of arms is inside the front cover (Fig. 25).

In Sotheby's auction catalogue ("Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts and Continental and Russian

Books," London, 3 July 2018, lot 8), the owner of the coat of arms was identified as Bogislav Freiherr von Selchow (1877–1943), a writer and naval officer.<sup>89</sup> The next owner of the manuscript was Martin Wahn (1883–1970). It is not known how the manuscript came into his possession; it's possible, as was suggested in Sotheby's catalogue, that it came through Bogislav's sister Anni von Gottberg, who was a member of the same Confessing Church as Wahn. According to the note signed by Christina Jaensch, née Wahn (Martin Wahn's daughter?), after Martin Wahn's death the manuscript was inherited by his grandson, Wilfrid Jaensch (1941–2015). On 23 June 1980, the manuscript was deposited at the University Library (Universitätsbibliothek) in Basel by Mara Hofmann of Sotheby's on behalf of Maria Jaensch. The manuscript was given the shelf mark B II 25. On 29 March 2018, the manuscript was returned to Maria Jaensch and on 3 July 2018 was purchased by the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection at the Sotheby's auction in London.

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89 The link to Sotheby's auction catalogue: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2018/medieval-and-renaissance-manuscripts-and-russian-books-l18403/lot.8.html>.

90 Annaclara Cataldi Palau tentatively identified DO MS 7 as codex no. 23, which once belonged to a Croatian Dominican theologian, John of Ragusa (Giovanni di Ragusa; ca. 1380–1443). The Italian scholar emphasized that only the content of the manuscript allowed her to link these two manuscripts. Elizabeth Dospěl Williams's findings on the binding and provenance of the DO MS 7 makes this identification highly unlikely.

88 I thank Elizabeth Dospěl Williams for sharing with me her extensive research on the provenance of DO MS 7.

The two newly acquired manuscripts, DO MS 6 and DO MS 7, significantly enrich the Dumbarton Oaks collection of Greek manuscripts. Being the earliest manuscripts in Dumbarton Oaks' collection, they complement the existing collection of mostly eleventh-century manuscripts, thereby broadening and deepening Dumbarton

Oaks' ability to help scholars, students, and museum visitors visualize and better understand the development of Byzantine calligraphy and manuscript illumination.

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